



**MAUI-OF-A-THOUSAND-TRICKS:  
HIS OCEANIC AND EUROPEAN  
BIOGRAPHERS**

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**BERNICE P. BISHOP MUSEUM  
BULLETIN 198**

**HONOLULU, HAWAII  
PUBLISHED BY THE MUSEUM  
1949**

*This book is printed with funds supplied  
by the G. N. Wilcox Trust, to which the  
Trustees of Bishop Museum wish to ex-  
press their appreciation.*

## PREFACE

My first work on Maui-of-a-thousand-tricks and the people who talked, wrote, and thought about him began in 1934 during four months spent at Bernice P. Bishop Museum, where I checked references for Dr. Martha W. Beckwith's "Hawaiian mythology" and gathered material for my doctor's thesis, "Maui the demi-god; factors in the development of a Polynesian hero cycle." The Dorothy Bridgman Atkinson fellowship granted for 1937-1938 by the American Association of University Women and the Bishop Museum-Yale University fellowship for the two years, 1938-1939, enabled me to continue my research, which had grown into a study of Polynesian oral literature and its creators. This manuscript was completed in 1946, when I joined the faculty of the University of Hawaii where I was granted half time for research.

For constant aid in translating texts, explaining obscure references, developing my understanding of Polynesian culture, and encouraging me in my work, I owe warm thanks to Dr. Peter H. Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa), Dr. Kenneth Emory, and Mrs. Mary Kawena Pukui of Bishop Museum. To the members of the American Association of University Women I am grateful for the friendliness and interest with which they have inquired about Maui. I am also very appreciative of the help of Eloise Christian, editor of Bishop Museum publications.

My deepest aloha is to Miss Annie M. Alexander. She first set me on the trail leading to Maui and his compatriots and constantly inspired me with her warm-hearted interest in Maui and his newest biographer.

KATHARINE LUOMALA

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# Maui-of-a-Thousand-Tricks: His Oceanic and European Biographers

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## INTRODUCTION TO MAUI

### THE IRRESISTIBLE MAUI

Even in a mythology as replete with courageous and adventurous heroes as the Polynesian, Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga, trickster and culture hero, is spectacular. Priests, chiefs, and commoners tell stories about this versatile and capricious demi-god, who ranged over sea, sky, earth, and underworld, to defy the gods and enrich mankind. The prankish Maui stole fire, snared the sun, raised the sky, trapped winds, fished up land, altered landscapes, founded dynasties, made useful inventions, and killed fabulous monsters who plagued women and terrified strong men. Even this breathless list gives only a few of the deeds which earned the hero the name of Maui-tinihanga, Maui-of-a-thousand-tricks.

He was half-man, half-god, with as many nicknames as tricks. One of his names, Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga, Maui-topknot-of-Taranga, is known all over the south Pacific. According to the Maori tribes of New Zealand, when he was born as a miscarriage, his mother, Taranga, swaddled him gently in hair cut from her topknot (*tikitiki*), and laid him on the cradling ocean waves with a prayer to the gods to look after her unfinished baby, her last child. The gods found and nursed him until they had made him into a healthy, bright, but odd-looking little boy who learned their secrets of magic. These he added to his own mischievous notions with results devastating to the staid upper world where his foster parents lived.

Because he was partly human and only a young boy, he yearned for a real home with a mother like Taranga, about whom the gods had told him. Although he did not remember her, he loved her because she had dedicated him to the gods instead of throwing him aside without a prayer. Without her devotion, he would have become a lost, malevolent spirit, who wandered, unloved, unwanted, and feared, in the village of his relatives. He decided to go to the earth and look for her.

When Maui vanished down the path leading from the sky to the earth, the gods were glad to see him go. They were old. The changeling had been wearisome to have around, especially after he grew old enough to catch on to their magic. The precocious nuisance had even killed one old god after first blighting his crops and stealing his lovely daughter.

Maui found his parents, who welcomed him with delight. It was while living with them that he turned upon his foster parents, the gods, to change the habits and face of the world which they had made and controlled to suit their own whims and customs. Maui spent his brief but eventful life in trying to prove to the gods that he knew more magic than they did and in trying to impress the homefolks by his adventures. He hoped that he would win their respect and a place of honor in the village even though he was the youngest of many brothers and was, therefore, outranked by them.

Although the Maui family was linked to the gods through distant blood relationship, the youngest son wrested the prerogatives of the gods, demi-gods, and their favorites for the ordinary man on earth. To Maui-of-a-thousand-tricks, the Polynesians give proper credit—but no worship, priests, or temples—for many blessings. Cooked instead of raw food. Dry, firm land under foot. A day with the sun in the sky long enough to catch fish, cook food, whiten tapas, and cultivate fields. A sky clear enough of the earth to free the winds that blow away the smoke of village fires, and high enough for even the tallest chief to stand up straight without bumping his head on the hard azure vault of the heavens. •

Though predominantly a Polynesian favorite, Maui is also known in Melanesia and Micronesia, primarily in islands the inhabitants of which have been in touch with Polynesians in either European or pre-European times. The name of Maui is a household word in the south Pacific in islands from just south of the Tropic of Cancer to about the 45th degree of latitude south of the Tropic of Capricorn, and from about 135 degrees west of Greenwich to about 140 degrees east of Greenwich longitude. This parallelogram—bounded in the north by Hawaii, in the east by Mangareva, in the south by New Zealand, and in the west by Yap and the New Hebrides—constitutes, according to E. H. Bryan, Jr., an area of more than 13 million square miles (fig. 1).

The three great geographical and cultural divisions of the south Pacific are part of this vast area which knows Maui. (See map, figure 2.) The largest is Polynesia, which symbolizes to the western world the romantic south seas with its many familiar names, such as Tahiti, Samoa, Hawaii, and New Zealand. The northernmost division, Micronesia, is dotted with many small coral islands, unknown to most Americans until history engraved names like Saipan, Tinian, Truk, and Tarawa on their memories. Melanesia is, for the most part, a region of large volcanic islands, of which New Guinea and New Caledonia are the largest.

Polynesia, where Maui is best known, is shaped like a great triangle (fig. 3). The Hawaiian Islands are at the northern apex, New Zealand and the Chathams at the southern apex, whereas at the east is Easter Island and at the west, the Ellice Islands. On the western boundary are such archipelagoes as Tokelau, Samoa, and Tonga, and such scattered islands as Niue, Uvea (Wal-

lis), Futuna (Hoorn), and Rotuma. Records on Maui are fullest from Polynesia. Probably every inhabited eastern Polynesian island knows about the hero. Often through accidents of fate, however, we have no information about Maui in certain islands. Though no trace of Maui has been found in Easter Island, for example, it may once have had Maui myths, for remnants of its native culture which survived the blows dealt by European civilization show that it had a Polynesian-type culture (Métraux, 195).<sup>1</sup> And in the Polynesian way of life, the myths about Maui are a particularly characteristic and recurrent feature. Samoans, oddly enough, did not have the name of Maui until recently. They used to call the hero only by their dialectical equivalent of his epithet of Tikitiki-a-Taranga. Whether they lost the hero's first name or had never learned it is unknown.

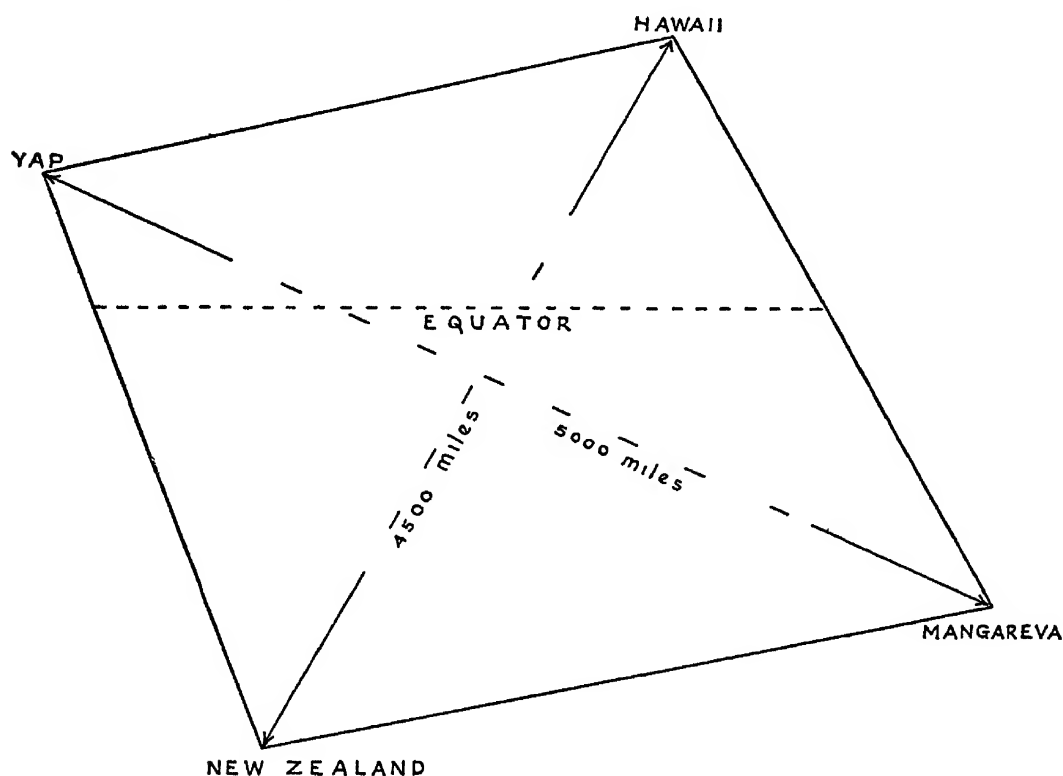


FIGURE 1.—Parallelogram showing the large area in which Maui is found. (Based on a sketch by E. H. Bryan, Jr.)

From each island listed below, we have a reliable and unconfused reference to Maui. Sometimes there is a long cycle, or only a myth of how he fished up an island. Sometimes there is only a genealogy with his name on it, or a statement that his footprint can still be seen on the reef. The following list, though long, is only approximate and tentative, particularly as to islands within an archipelago. Some collectors of myths have been vague about just which island in the group was the source of their myths.

<sup>1</sup> Numbers in parentheses refer to Bibliography, page 278

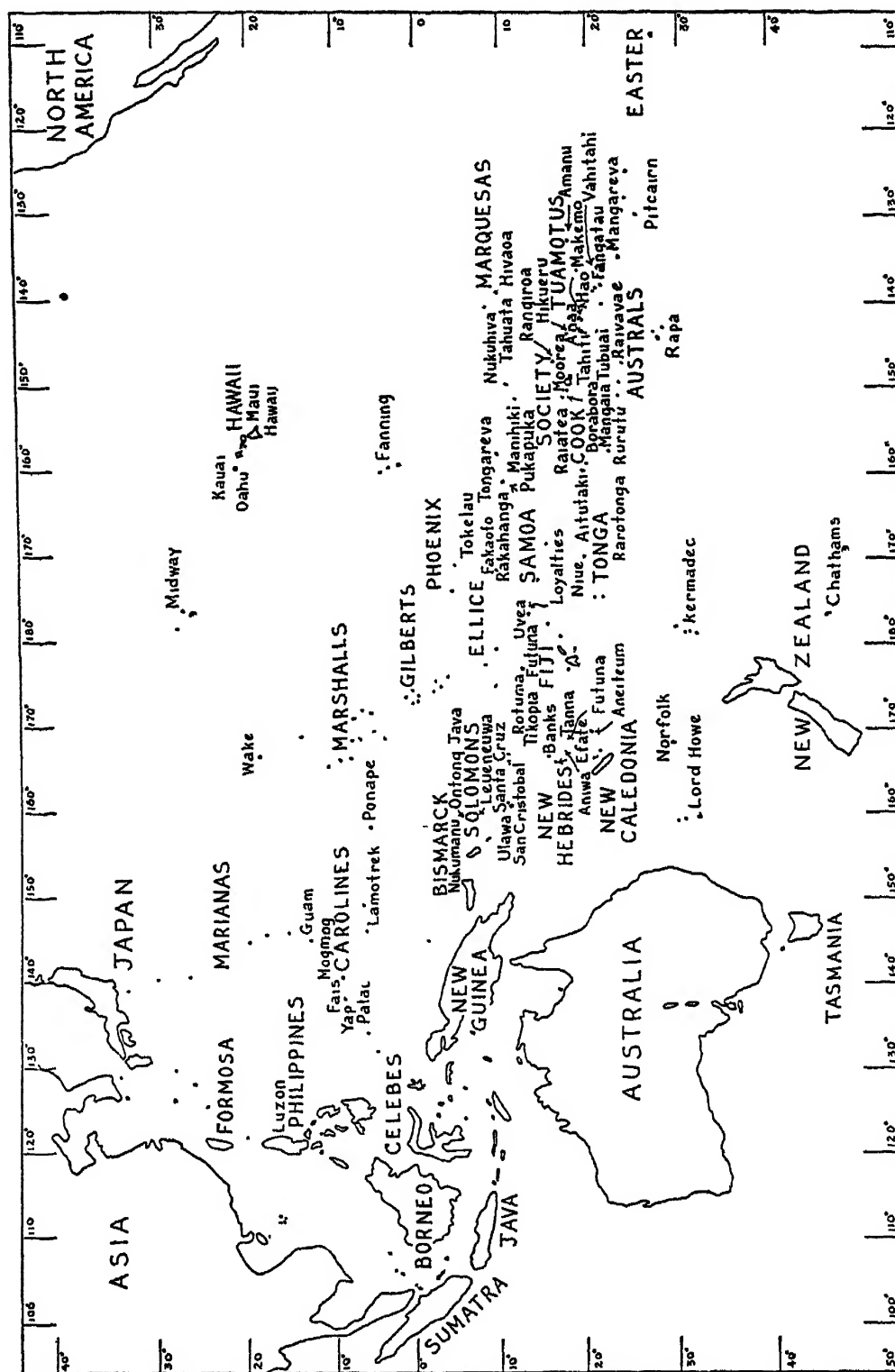


FIGURE 2—Map of the three geographical and cultural divisions of the south Pacific, showing the islands in which Maui is found.

Polynesian islands knowing Maui are New Zealand (many tribes in both the North and South Islands), the Chatham Islands, Rapa, the Australs (Tubuai, Raivavae, Rurutu), the Society Islands (Tahiti, Moorea, Borabora, Raiatea), the Tuamotus (Anaa, Fangatau, Hikueru, Amanu, Faaiti, Fakahina, Rangiroa, Vahitahi, Hao, Makemo and perhaps Tatakoto), the Cook Islands (Mangaia, Rarotonga, Aitutaki), Mangareva, the Marquesas (Tahuata, Nukuhiva, Hivaoa), the Hawaiian Islands (Hawaii, Maui, Oahu, Kauai), Manihiki and Rakahanga, Tongareva, Pukapuka, the Tokelaus (Fakaofu), Niue, Uvea, Futuna, Rotuma, the Tongan Islands, and the Samoan Islands. The name of Maui is missing from studies on the Ellice Islands. (See map, figure 3.)

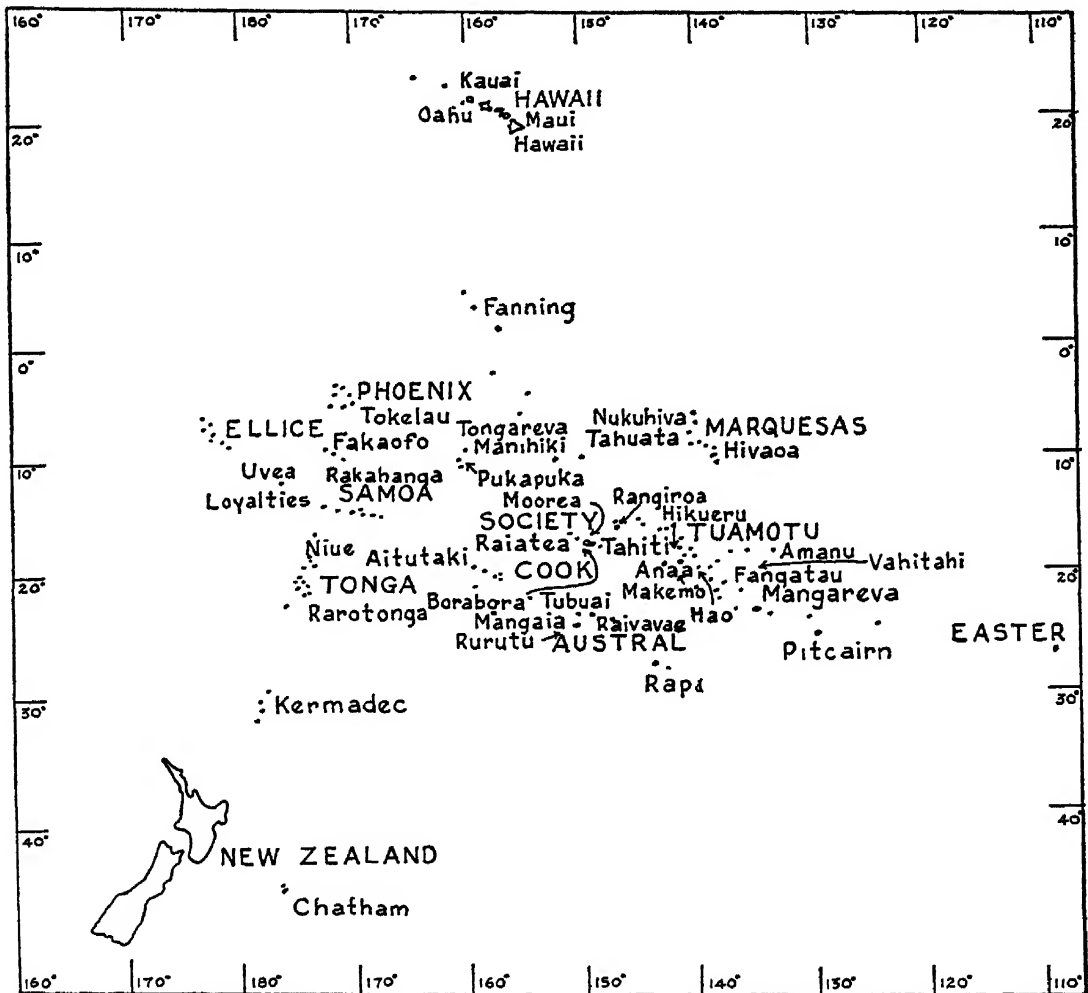


FIGURE 3.—Polynesia.

Maui's name and some of his adventures are also present in Micronesia. So far, however, accounts of his career have been recorded only from the Caroline Archipelago (Ponape, Feis, Lamotrek, Mogmog, and Yap). In

the very little folklore and mythology collected in the Marianas, Maui's name is not mentioned. Ethnographies from the Gilbert and Marshall Archipelagoes, which, like the Carolines and Marianas, are part of Micronesia, do not refer to Maui. However, these island groups have myths which include certain of the adventures and heroic epithets ascribed to Maui by the Polynesians. Though the Gilberts and Marshalls do not actually have the name of Maui, they attribute these Maui-like adventures and epithets to their local legendary heroes. Either they have lost or abandoned the name of Maui in order to build up the prestige of their local favorites, or they first heard the myths told about a hero other than Maui. (See map, figure 4.)

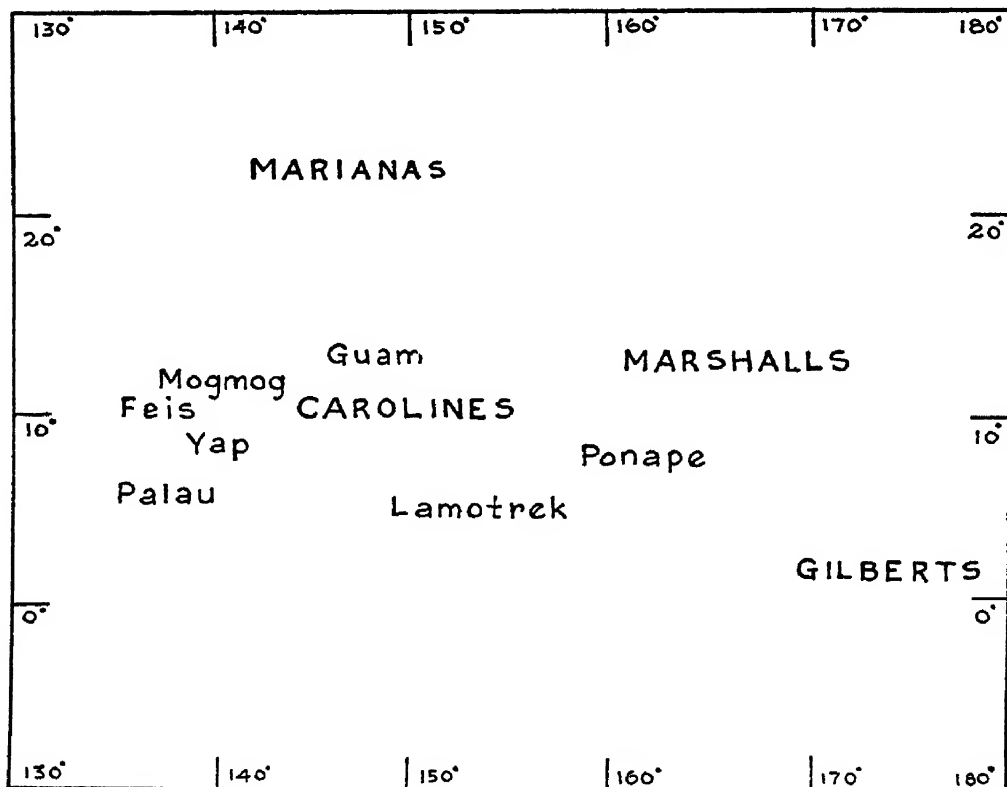


FIGURE 4.—Micronesia.

Maui is scarcely known in Melanesia, the culture area which includes the chains of islands east of Polynesia, south of Micronesia, north of Australia, and west of and including parts of New Guinea. His name appears in myths from Fiji, the New Hebrides, Ulawa, Tikopia, Ontong Java (Nukumanu, Leueneuwa), and Santa Cruz (fig. 5). The last three islands are Polynesian outliers. That is, though geographically within Melanesia they have many customs and beliefs like those of the Polynesians which give a definitely Polynesian cast to their way of life. This is also true, to some extent, of Fiji and part of the New Hebrides. Certain elements in the societies of the outliers may have survived from pre-European migrations of Polynesians when they

were traveling from the western Pacific toward their present home in Polynesia. However, allowance must be made for the possibility that the myths diffused in later times, either directly from Polynesia by way of Tonga and Samoa, or indirectly by way of the Carolines, into these western hinterlands. A third logical possibility is that they diffused into the western islands from Polynesia in European times because of more rapid and frequent travel between areas by ships engaged in trade, missionary work, or exploration.

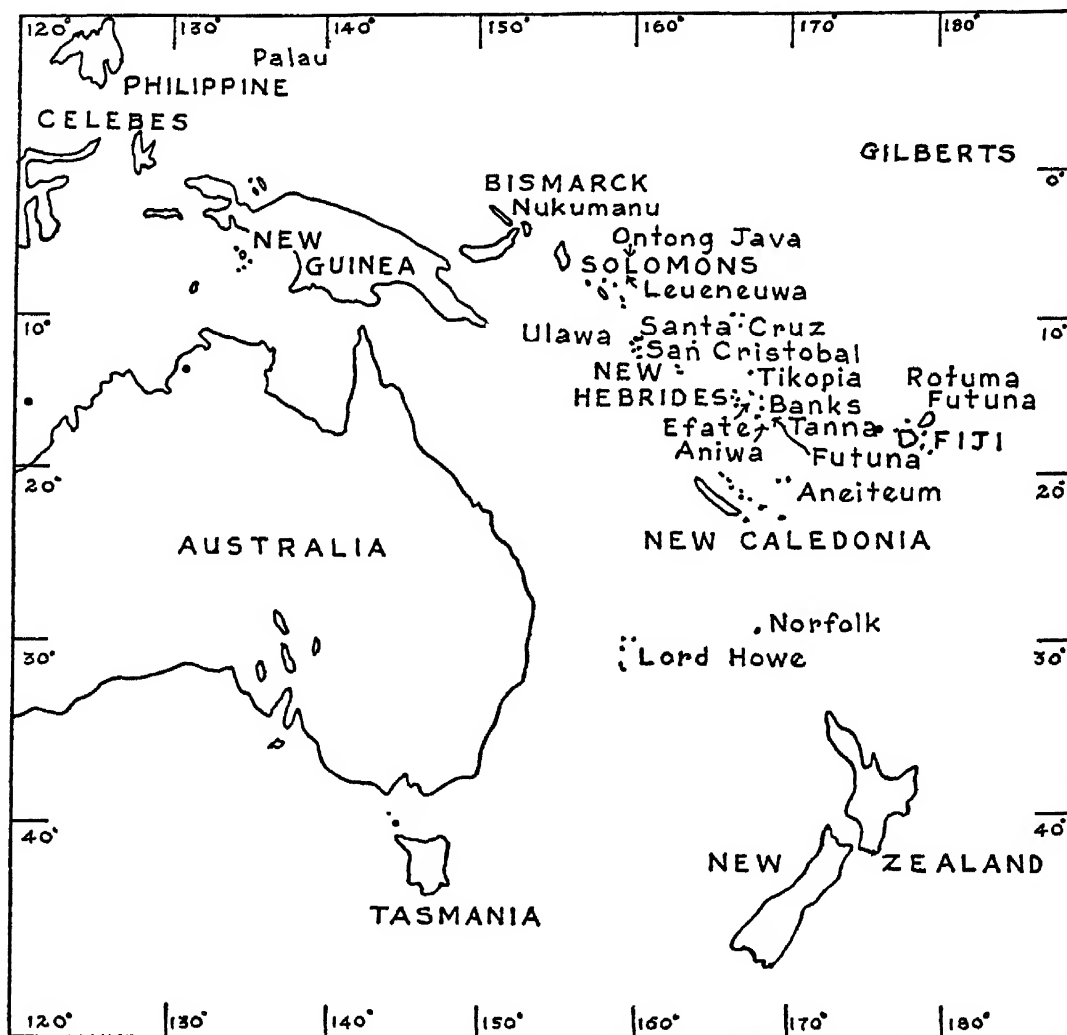


FIGURE 5—Melanesia.

Maui is not mentioned in publications on New Guinea, New Caledonia, the Bismarcks, the Solomons (except Ulawa and Santa Cruz), the Loyalties, and the Banks Islands. But, certain islands in these archipelagoes have myths, such as that of fishing up the islands, which Polynesians tell of Maui. These Melanesian islands, however, tell them of other heroes.

Yap, in the Carolines, is the westernmost island in the Pacific from which the name of Maui has been definitely reported. Perhaps it is present even

farther west, for the Bontoc and Lepanto Igorot tribes of northern Luzon, in the Philippines, have stories about a beneficent culture hero, Lumaui (Keesing, 154). Lumaui is vaguely reminiscent, both in name and accomplishments, of Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga and of Lu, the latter a Polynesian and Micronesian character prominent in certain Maui myths, such as those about raising the sky to its present height. Often Lu is described as Maui's father, older relative, or heroic competitor.

The inhabitants of these three great cultural divisions, Melanesia, Polynesia, and Micronesia, had no writing before Europeans introduced the art. Knowledge of Maui and his adventures circulated by word of mouth from island to island and from generation to generation for hundreds of years. No wonder W. D. Westervelt (302, p. vii), who once gathered together many stories about the hero from publications on several islands, writes that the Maui myths form one of the strongest links in the mythological chain of evidence binding the scattered inhabitants of the Pacific into one nation.

What manner of being was Maui that he should be so popular and widely known throughout the south Pacific? Part of the answer comes from studying myths, legends, and traditions which Pacific islanders tell about him. Another part of the answer is in the role he and the myths about his adventures play in daily life. Because no other character in south Pacific mythologies, not even that bright star of the Polynesian pantheon, the god Tangaroa, has had so much recorded about him and aroused so much conjecture and interest among both Polynesians and Europeans, a third part of the answer is in native and European theories about Maui.

Little will be said in this study about the provenience of particular themes, myths, or parts of myths associated with Maui; the possible routes of their diffusion; and other problems associated primarily with the reconstruction of the history of either Maui or the Oceanic cultures of which he is a part. These problems are important, however, and I have attacked them in earlier reports largely through studying particular myths told of Maui. An analysis of one myth, that of snaring the sun, has been published (171). Others are being prepared. Another important phase of the study of the hero is to describe and analyze literary processes involved in the development of variants of the cycle. Some of these processes are touched on only casually in this study.

The emphasis here is primarily on restoring the variants to the cultural climate in which they flourished and on bringing together the people who listened to and told stories about Maui-i-toa, Maui-the-valiant, as the Maori sometimes call him. After a hasty survey of what is meant by the "Maui cycle," a classic version of the cycle is given in full with a discussion of its collector and its author. Next, various roles of Maui in many phases of daily island life are described. Certain versions of his biography, unusually valuable in filling out the picture of the place of Maui and his native biographers in

the culture, are reviewed at length. After that, I present theories of Maui's European biographers, using the term European in the sense of non-Polynesian. Finally, there is a report on collectors of the cycles, their theories, and the kind of source material which they gathered about Maui.

For so complex and significant a character as Maui, no one method of research is sufficient to understand the hold he has on the affection and imagination of peoples of the south seas. A many-sided hero requires a many-sided investigation. This is an introduction to the hero who won the hearts of islanders in a vast region and maintained that hold for centuries. It is meant particularly for those who have not already met the hero.

Maui has had many biographers. Among them are native Pacific islanders, who, under the Southern Cross, pondered the problem of Maui-of-a-thousand-tricks; and Europeans, who, under the study lamp, analyzed native accounts of the mythical hero written by early travelers and settlers.

There is no single "true" account of the events in Maui's career. Each island, each social class in an island, each narrator tells somewhat different versions of Maui's biography. Maui is a favorite of the common man, and stories about him are told principally at informal gatherings. However, dignified and solemn Polynesian priests, who were official keepers of the genealogies and traditions, could not ignore a person, beloved though he might be of a lower class, if he were a wonder-worker, a miracle man, a sorcerer who altered the original form of the world and vanquished gods who had made the universe and laid down rules for human beings. The priests had their own versions of Maui's career.

So, among Pacific islanders themselves, are more oral biographies of Maui-the-crafty than some islanders say Maui has heads. The eight heads, with which certain storytellers credit him, symbolize his versatility and the many roles and deeds ascribed to him. As for the differences in stories about him, Polynesians explain that even wise men differ in telling the ancient traditions. The Maori of New Zealand quote an ancient proverb, "It was not one man alone who was awake in the dark ages," when the question of variations in traditions is raised. Storytellers differ not only in the way they tell myths about Maui but in their interpretations of what the stories and their ancient phrases mean.

A Tuamotuan scholar (in Emory, 92, pp. 107, 112) dipped into his "basket of learning" to compose a chant about "the sands of the land Sheltered-by-Flowers," the poetic name of Fangatau, his home island. He states that prayers and sacred learning as well as tales and teaching are under the guidance of the god Atea, whose name means Space. But despite the divinity and guidance of Atea, the number of prayers and tales, with variants, seems as illimitable as the essential character of the god himself. When the Tuamotuan seer came to a disputed period in his account of the beginnings of the world, he sighed:

Correct is the explanation, wrong is the lore.

Correct is the lore, wrong is the explanation.

Correct, correct is the lore.

Ah, no!

It is wrong, it is wrong—alas!

In New Zealand tribal members trace their descent from ancestors who came from the ancient homeland, Hawaiki, in the fleet of the fourteenth century, A. D. Native experts still argue fiercely over accounts of these migrations, which ended with the colonizing of New Zealand. In a post-European dispute between two men of different tribes over which canoe brought the *kumara*, a sweet potato which was a staple in Maori diet, one of the men finally said in weary compromise, "You have your kumara and your ancestor. I have my kumara and my ancestor" (Izett, 151, p. 301). So it is with the variants of the Maui cycle. Each author-raconteur has his own version.

Because Maui was not worshiped, the first Europeans who came to the south seas did not feel impelled to grind every memory of him out of people's hearts. They might have agreed, however, with Captain Cook's statement (Wharton, 304, p. 83) that the traditions, as narrated to him in Tahiti in June 1769, were puerile and the feats absurd. Records about Maui that crept into the journals of explorers and missionaries leave much to be desired in completeness and objectivity.

European scholars who have studied the careers of Loki, Thor, Hercules, Ulysses, Merlin, Osiris, and other mythological characters have read about Maui with curiosity and affection and made him a place in the fellowship of mythical heroes.

Scarcely a character of any prominence or function in the oral traditions of Europe, Asia, and America has escaped comparison with the less specialized, more versatile Maui. He has been called the most interesting and many-sided figure of any pantheon (Achelis, 3). The cloak of every theory of mythology of the day for the past two centuries, whether solar, lunar, astral, historical, or psychoanalytical, has been wrapped about Maui at some time and tried on for size. The impish hero has emerged from microscopic and solemn analyses as the sun god, the volcano god, as, indeed, the spiritual little brother of everyone from Moses to Oedipus. Windy storms of long words among the greatest European mythologists of the nineteenth century were aroused over what rank to grant this saucy brother of the gods.

Maui must have been delighted and taken the seat of honor. Because he is no narrow specialist in just one kind of trick, he can match his magic with any Old World hero—and win. He is Maui-of-a-thousand-tricks, the eight-headed super-super-man of the south seas. He meddles in every department of nature and human activity. He fishes up islands as Thor pulls up the Midgard Serpent; he regulates the sun, like Joshua; controls the winds, like Aeolus. He steals fire for mankind, like Prometheus, and performs feats of

strength, like Hercules. He insults hoary members of the pantheon, as does Loki, and combines good and evil in his nature, as does Manabozho. Like Moses, he is exposed to a watery death as an infant. He originates the first dog by remodeling a greedy brother-in-law. He raises the heavens. He tries to conquer the goddess of death. Tupuatupua, the Tuamotuans say, Super-super-man.

### THE VITALITY OF MAUI

Myths about Maui-of-a-thousand-tricks are still popular in the Pacific and have survived in islands which have forgotten all the rest of their mythology.

That it is proper to use the present tense in speaking of Maui, one learns from the most recent ethnographic accounts of the south seas. Scientists who visit islands on sea roads of majestic liners or remote coral atolls, reached only after precarious travel on uncharted seas in outrigger canoes and small trading vessels, still return with myths about Maui.

Captain Cook was the European discoverer of Maui. He was the first to write about him. In his journal of June 1769 (Wharton, 304), he describes a curious image which he saw Tahitians carry. This image, about seven and a half feet high, was made of basketwork with black and white feathers arranged to imitate hair and tattooed skin. The upper part of the figure had several knoblike lumps which represented the creature's many heads. Captain Cook says that the people did not worship the image but used it as if it were a Punch in a puppet show. Tupia, the interpreter, told Cook that the figure represented Maui, whom Tahitians thought of as a many-headed giant, half-human and half-god, endowed with immense strength and many abilities. Tupia told Captain Cook many stories about Maui but, unfortunately, he thought them too absurd to note down in his journal (Wharton, 304, p. 83).

The vitality of the myths and their hero, and their adaptability to almost any change in locality or circumstance of the Polynesians, either in pre-European or modern times, are as remarkable as the themes about which the tales are narrated. Anciently, when Polynesian adventurers set out to find a new home, the Maui myths were carried with them and passed on to the next generation, even when all other traditions of the mother island were lost with the passage of time.

Polynesians are gifted litterateurs with deep appreciation of whatever is fine in any literature. The frequently reminiscent ring in phrases and ideas of the Maui myths makes the newcomer to this literary realm certain that if there is any truth in Indian theories of reincarnation he must surely have been a Polynesian in a past century to feel so at home with their literary art.

Migrations of Polynesians took them across southern Asia from what land no one knows and over the Pacific "to burst through the skies" and "fish up

islands," to use native metaphors for discovery, in the last uninhabited portion of the world some time during the early Christian Era.

During centuries of wandering and pushing onward to a less crowded part of the world, these sophisticated literary eclectics must have listened to the prose and poetry of the peoples whose paths they crossed and who came to them. With that intense feeling for aesthetic order which expressed itself in social and religious hierarchies and in deep philosophical thoughts about the origin of the world and mankind, they transcended alien styles, ideas, and words to integrate the strange and mark it with their own design.

The European who discovers the native literature for himself feels as if the authors of the classic oral literature of the western world had breathed upon that of Polynesia and imbued it with their spirit. Perhaps others beside Europeans would find much in it reminiscent of their own literary forms and ideas.

Of all the western literature which Polynesians learned about after European "heaven-bursts" (*papalangi*) discovered them, storytellers have been most influenced by the Bible. This was inevitable, since Old World evangelists were prominent among early arrivals in Polynesia, where bonds of professional competition brought them into contact with chiefs, priests, and other nobles of Polynesian royal courts who sponsored learning and literature. Hand in hand with the introduction of Christianity went the art of reading and writing.

The lengthy series of "begats" in the Old Testament fascinated Polynesians, who themselves usually begin a romance or a tradition with names of the hero's ancestors. Names of new countries were added to the itineraries of ancient heroes like Maui. Maui was now said to have gone as far on his travels as Auteria (Australia), Atia (Asia), Francee (France), Paniola (Spain), and Beretania (Britain).

Native orators who adopted the new religion of Christianity applied their elocutionary and pantomimic talents to converting their friends and relatives. Priests of the European dark ages kept their audiences awake by telling current merry tales which had very broad and juicy humor, and then interpreting them in terms of solemn Christian concepts to point a moral for the congregation. In the same way, a Christianized Polynesian pastor uses a Maui myth and examples from native customs to interest his listeners and drive home a Biblical text. Fortunately, a native sermon using a Maui myth as a parable has been preserved.

Simeona (the Polynesian version of Simon), a native of Aitutaki Island in central Polynesia, became a Christian missionary in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and went far from home to spread the gospel in the New Hebrides. His teacher, the Reverend W. W. Gill (121, pp. 127-128) of the London Missionary Society, has preserved a few of Simeona's sermons,

among them one about the great Maui who had eight heads and lived in the darkness of the lower world called Avaiki (<sup>2</sup>'Avaiki, Hawaiki), as is the ancient homeland of the Maori of New Zealand.

One day Maui noticed a ray of light above him. He became curious to know if there was a whole world full of light outside. He found a hole through which the light came, but his eight heads prevented him from squeezing through the narrow opening. He plucked off one head and tried again. But in vain. Off came a second head. No success. He jerked off a third. Still no luck. Then he tore off one head after another until at last he had only two left. Even yet he could not get through the hole! Finally he pulled off one of his last two heads. Then he crawled easily through the hole into the sunshine of the earth which he found so attractive that he made it his permanent home. Because of his deed, all mankind, his descendants, now have but one head apiece and live in the light.

Simeona did not end his sermon there. He went on to say to his parishioners:

So it is with poor sinners living in darkness and the shadow of death. By the grace of God, some of them get a glimpse of the blessed light of the Gospel, and long for a full enjoyment of its saving truths. They fail, because of the eight heads, that is, a heart divided between a desire to serve Christ and an equally strong desire to go on enjoying their old heathen pleasures. There is no emerging into the light, peace, and life of the Gospel until the entire seven be plucked off; until, with a single eye and a single heart, they agonise to enter the kingdom of heaven.

Austral Islanders (Buck, 41, p. 166), who live south of Simeona's old home, have given Maui's mother, Taranga, a new name. They call her Chieftainess Eva. Thus, by making Eva his mother and Maui the first man, they display their knowledge of the foreign, Christian cosmogony and prove themselves abreast of the times. They also subtly acknowledge and put into European terms their belief in the antiquity of Maui in world history.

Present-day New Hebrideans (Melanesians) identify Maui's grandson, Tamakaia, with Jehovah. They ascribe the origin of England to a fish caught by Tamakaia which got far, far away when his hook broke. This is a modern adaptation of the ancient myth that islands are fish pulled up from the depths of the sea by Maui's magic fishhook. His grandson, New Hebrideans continue, fished up Australia, which at the time of the great fishing trip had an under-seas connection with the New Hebrides. However, so the story goes, the link between them broke when Tamakaia's fishline split, and the two regions drifted apart in the southern ocean. Undaunted, the adventurous Tamakaia later set out in a banana-skin boat to visit England, perhaps to check up on his own boastful story of the fish that got away. Tamakaia found the fish, now called England, and liked it so much that he decided to stay there and become the Jehovah of the Old World. He generously let the English use his banana-skin boat as a model for their ships (Macdonald, 182).

<sup>2</sup> The hamzah, represented by an inverted comma and indicating a glottal closure, has been omitted in proper names and place names in my text, because it is almost impossible to be consistent in its use. It is, however, indicated in quotations from other authors.

Small wonder then that the Tahitians exclaimed when they first saw European ships approach their island, "The ships of Maui! The outriggerless canoes of Maui have come!" Extraordinary imagination and predictions have a way of becoming associated with the Maui family. According to Tahitians, one of their priests had such vivid imagination that he became known as Maui. He predicted that canoes without outriggers would some day come from a foreign land. This struck his listeners as the height of impossibility, even after he set a coconut-shell dish afloat on the water to show how a vessel might stay afloat without the balancing outrigger. Some people remained incredulous even after they saw the English ships. Every time a ship prepared to depart, they worried that these "outriggerless canoes of Maui" would surely tip over and sink (Ellis, 87, vol. 1, p. 382).

When Christian missionaries arrived in the Hawaiian Islands, they and the Hawaiians closely studied each other's religions. Some of the scholars concluded after their comparative study that the Hawaiian god Kane (called Tane in most islands) was similar to Jehovah, whereas Kanaloa (called Tangaroa in many islands) was comparable to the Holy Spirit, and Maui was Jesus (Bastian, 14, p. 232).

According to an old story (Westervelt, 302, pp. 123-124), Maui tried, after he had fished up the Hawaiian Islands, to unite them into a continent. An old bird-woman, called the Great Mudhen of Hina, told him to go to a fishing place, known as Ponaha-ke-one, just outside Pearl Harbor. There he would find beneath the sea an old gentleman, Mr. One-Tooth, who held the islands in their present places to keep them from drifting too closely together or too far apart. Maui, the Great Mudhen told him, must dicker with this demon to move the islands.

Mr. One-Tooth, like other supernatural beings of a higher order, did not like Maui and would be offended and suspicious of any suggestions for even the smallest change in the way he was doing things. Realizing this and wondering what to do, Maui went home to Kane's Cave near Nanakuli Beach on Oahu. While he talked to his brothers about his plans for going fishing, not, however, telling them what he intended to do about the islands, his mother came home. She secretly advised him to go far out to sea before he went back to where Mr. One-Tooth lived. At sea he should find something to help him in his adventure. He should recognize it when he saw it, his mother said.

Maui followed her suggestions. When he picked up a bailing dish floating about, he knew it to be the help his mother had told him he should find. Then he and his brothers set the course for the trip back to Ponaha-ke-one where One-Tooth lived. As Maui drew near, he noticed that the bailing dish had disappeared and that in its place was a beautiful young mermaid, Hina, the Moon Lady. But before the Maui boys could cast anchor at Ponaha-ke-one,

the mermaid had disappeared and only a bailing dish was in sight. The disappointed brothers angrily threw this into the sea.

After warming up his arm by fishing up several sharks, Maui took out his magic-hook-of-heaven, *Manai-i-ka-lani* (which is now said to be somewhere in the Bishop Museum collection!), threw it into the water, and called to the Moon Girl to take his hook and put it where it would be the most effective. Hina carried his hook deeper and deeper into the sea until she came to Mr. One-Tooth. Coaxing him in her most engaging way to show her his famous single tooth about which she had heard so much, she got him to open his mouth. And while he pointed, she threw the hook down his throat and gave the line a couple of twists around his tooth. Then, with the old man securely snagged, she jerked the line to signal Maui that the fish was caught.

Fastening the line to his outrigger, Maui ordered his brothers to paddle swiftly to the north and west and under no circumstances to look back. As they paddled steadily for a long time and Maui planned how he would rearrange the islands and set them together into one large continent, the brothers became restless. They could restrain their curiosity no longer and glanced back. They exclaimed in wonder at what they saw.

A string of islands—Kauai, Oahu, Molokai, Maui, and Hawaii—rose and fell on the waves as they were dragged along on Maui's hook! And beside these big islands capered many little islands, such as Niihau, Lanai, and Kahoolawe, flying along like baby porpoises trying to keep up with their mother. "Maui, look, look at what you caught!" shouted the brothers.

Alas! They had broken the charm. The hook slipped out of Mr. One-Tooth's mouth. The lands scattered and slipped about at the momentum of the sudden stop. They churned about in the water, and Kauai and little Niihau fell near the canoe, but the force of the snapping line sent the other fish farther away. It looked as if they would be sent spinning to the south and crash into Tahiti. But the distraught Mr. One-Tooth, not knowing whether to hold his aching mouth first or to keep Molokai from jamming into the island which now bears the heroic Maui's name, finally got his shoal of pets under control. He then anchored them in the places where they are today.

After the United States annexed the Hawaiian Islands in 1898, people said that Maui must have been out fishing again, for now the islands were united with America. The coming years will doubtless see a further revision of the story of Maui's work in uniting the Hawaiian Islands even more closely with the mainland. Perhaps when statehood becomes a reality for the islands, Maui-of-a-thousand-tricks will join the company of Paul Bunyan, Manabozho, Hiawatha, and other great American heroes born and bred in the imagination of the many different people who make up a great country. Not the least of the gifts of the spirit which the islands can contribute to the states are its beautiful and ancient myths and heroes and the joyous stories about Maui.

Maui myths have been used more than once in political speeches of past and present. Dr. Peter H. Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa) tells how, as a Representative in the New Zealand Parliament, he told the myth about how Maui snared the sun to lengthen the day. Dr. Buck made the speech for the first Daylight Saving Bill introduced into New Zealand and as part of a filibuster being carried on that day. On the basis of his claim to being a distant relative of Maui, Dr. Buck exploited the theme to the fullest and excited the interest of the Parliament which regarded his speech as a humorous diversion from the tedious and technical debate. Later, thanks to the support and example of Maui's daylight saving efforts, Parliament passed the bill (41, p. 52).

Maui-tupua-tupua, Maui-the-great-wonder-worker, Maui-the-super-super-man, has bridged not only the ocean wastes between Pacific islands and the gulf between man and the gods, but also the barrier between the primitive and the civilized worlds.

### THE ANTIQUITY AND REALITY OF MAUI

How old is Maui? Or rather, how long has this nearly perennially adolescent demi-god been known to Micronesians, Melanesians, and Polynesians who discuss his adventurous life and call him their ancestor? Was Maui once a real person, perhaps actually an ancestor?

These questions have led to thousands of pages of discussion by Maui's European biographers. Opinions of his Polynesian biographers have swelled the mass of conjecture. This section only previews issues of the debate. Answers backed by evidence can be presented only after the hundreds of versions of myths about Maui have been compared, their relationships traced within Oceania, and information assembled about myths related to them outside Oceania.

So widely known are Maui and his innumerable tricks in the Pacific area that no one, probably, would dispute the statement that Maui was already an established part of Polynesian traditions and mythology by the time the principal archipelagoes from Hawaii to New Zealand were settled. Fame like his was not acquired in a decade or two in a vast area in which the only means of communication in prehistoric times was from mouth to ear. Maui has probably been talked about for hundreds of years, for myths about him to be known and narrated in so many islands of Polynesia, Micronesia, and Melanesia. Also, the many differences in the versions require time to originate and to be integrated into the cycle.

Many early scholars, whose theories are described more fully in later sections of this book, maintain that anciently there was a real Maui whose great feats of navigation and leadership made his name immortal. His followers and descendants elevated him to the rank of demi-god, and surrounded him, as the years rolled on, with more and more mythical deeds. Some of

these scholars believe that the Maui myths are allegorical accounts of history, that if the fantastic elements are stripped from the myths, the nub of pure history will be exposed. Maui, according to this theory, was either an ancient ruler of the Polynesians in their pre-Polynesian homeland or a chief who led them into their present islands in the eastern Pacific.

Maui may well have been a real navigator or discoverer. More accurately, someone by the name of Maui may have been in ancient times such a leader. However, our only evidence is theoretical. Polynesians have the custom of deifying distinguished ancestors and of mixing fact and fancy about them. Among some Polynesians, in the Society Islands, for instance, where religion and civil government were united in pre-European days, important chiefs were also high priests. Sometimes great chiefs, descendants of gods, were identified with those gods whom they represented in their dual capacity as priest-chiefs. They spoke for the gods and saw that they received sacrifices and honors due them from earthly residents. The gods even spoke through the priest-chiefs, using them as earthly vessels for divine outpourings of predictions and instructions to the people.

One of the greatest chiefs of ancient Polynesia was Tangiia, who is described more fully in the section on the Rarotongan Maui cycle. He settled in Rarotonga (Cook Islands), where his followers deified him after his death and told many miraculous stories about him. Polynesians used to elevate to the rank of god or demi-god chiefs who, like Tangiia, directed the discovery and colonization of a new island home. These leaders had a godlike share of supernatural power, as proved to their fellow men by their genealogies and accomplishments and by the fact that they were both religious and temporal leaders. A chief named Maui may once have been so deified, but there is not even the evidence for it that exists for Tangiia.

A complicating factor in distinguishing between history and myth is that chiefs are named after or adopt the names and deeds of gods and ancient heroes. A case in point is the Tahitian priest whose prophetic genius won him the name of Maui when he predicted the arrival of outriggerless canoes from a distant foreign land. Court biographers further confused the issue by giving mythological heroes descriptive epithets derived from names of real heroes.

Polynesians frequently start off a family genealogy with Maui as their oldest ancestor because of the myth that he fished up the island where the family now resides. Residents also exhibit relics to prove that Maui once lived on their island. They point out his footprints in the reef, the marks left by his sun-snaring ropes on the rocks, and his weapons which have become stars in the sky. These relics prove to them that Maui actually lived on their island. The very firmness of Polynesian belief that Maui was once a real person has led certain European biographers to believe in his reality.

The Maui who is the hero of the cycle as it is now told in Oceania has come a long way from any semi-mythical navigator and chief called Maui. Trying to link the present Maui with the navigator is about as fruitless as trying to interpret the present Maui's character and functions from the etymology of his name.

The problem seems unsolvable because in each island the stock-in-trade of mythology and traditions which each generation inherits from the older generation has been differently modified through changes wrought by oral transmission, literary creativeness, and visitors bringing new material.

A question related to that of the antiquity of Maui is whether narratives about him are to be called myths, legends, traditions, tales, or what. The terms, tradition, legend, and tale, are often loosely used, both scientifically and popularly, as synonyms for the term myth. The line between them is vague and wavering as regards the Maui stories, which satisfy several characteristics often used to define a myth. They concern gods and semi-divine beings in a world rather different from what it is now. They often have a semi-religious quality and are known over a large area. But like legends they also concern human beings; and many are attached to a definite locality.

Legend bears the connotation of history as opposed to the fictitious quality of a folktale. It is also frequently limited to a narrative less extensive in geographical distribution than a myth.

Tradition is a more inclusive term for oral narratives on many subjects and customs relayed from one generation to another. Like legends, they refer to events which narrators regard as historical. From a scientific point of view, they may actually reflect some verifiable historical event though infused with supernatural incidents. The supernatural element in their structure, however, makes them none the less true to the narrator.

Narratives about Maui, then, are not readily classifiable whether defined from the perspective of narrator or investigator. A narrator regards his versions as true records of events and dismisses a colleague's versions as mythical. Each version of a Maui story based on a single theme would be differently classified if one weighed its relative proportion of fantasy and history before pinning a label to it. And there would be as many labels as weighers.

As in Old World oral literature, the constituent parts of Polynesian hero cycles are usually a scrambled and romantic concoction of history and myth. Little success has crowned scholarly attempts to separate historic from romantic elements and to determine at what epoch in Polynesian history heroes like Maui, if proved to be historical personages, lived.

Scholarly debates about whether there was a historic Maui or two Maui's, one a navigator, the other a mythological hero, later combined into one figure, recall differences of scholars about whether there was a historic King Arthur, and, if so, what is myth and what history in the Arthur cycle. The words of

the Norman poet, Wace, apply as well to the Maui cycle as to the Arthur cycle:

Nor all a lie,  
Nor all true,  
Nor all fable,  
Nor all known,  
So much have story-tellers told  
And fablers fabled to embellish their tales  
That they have made all seem fable.

## WHAT IS THE MAUI CYCLE?

### DEFINITIONS

Those unfamiliar with Polynesian mythology may well ask whether the term hero cycle with its impressive European literary connotations and recollections of the Iliad and the Odyssey, Arthur, Charlemagne, and Ossian is applicable to Oceanic literature and to the Maui myths. That variant of the Maui cycle from New Zealand given in full in a later section is the most adequate and practical answer. It demonstrates many characteristics of Polynesian literary art. It, and other examples of the Maui cycle to be presented later, establishes that if a hero cycle is defined as a number of narratives centering about a hero or group of heroes and forming a continuous series, one may certainly consider the hero cycle as a characteristic literary category of Polynesia (Luomala, 172, 173).

Similarities among versions of the cycle are so definite and extensive throughout Oceania that the term Maui cycle can be used both generically and specifically. The Maui cycle is a series of more or less cohesive myths oriented about a culture hero and trickster known as Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga, or dialectical variants of that name. Myths about Maui have been united into impressive cycles in New Zealand, the Tuamotus, the Cook Islands, the Society Islands, Samoa, Tonga, Rotuma, the Marquesas, and the Carolines. They demonstrate at first hand that the term hero cycle can be applied to myths about Maui. The greatest development of the cycle has taken place in New Zealand and central Polynesia (Society Islands, Tuamotus, and Cook Islands).

The only recorded instance of Hawaiian narrators having combined Maui's exploits into a connected series is in the Kumulipo, a genealogical chant which cryptically lists the major events of Maui's career. Like other variants of the Maui cycle, it is discussed in later chapters. Otherwise, Hawaiian versions of Maui's adventures have been recorded only as independent myths. Like Old World bards, Polynesian raconteurs frequently narrate disconnected anecdotes about their heroes. Eventually, though not necessarily, some of these anecdotes may be incorporated within the formal framework of a cycle. Adventures forming part of an existing cycle are also told as separate myths (Luomala, 172, 173).

Several myths about Maui have been recorded from Mangareva, the Chathams, Australs, Pukapuka, Manihiki, Rakahanga, and the New Hebrides. Occasionally, two or more adventures are loosely united in these islands into a form that is more like a complex myth composed of several episodes than like a cycle made up of a series of myths. Sometimes the brevity results from the collector having recorded only an outline of the main events of the hero's career. In Mangareva, as will be discussed later, fragments of stories which still exist about Maui hint that there was once a lengthy and complex Maui cycle which followed Mangarevan literary traditions in subject and style. In pre-European times, the Maui myths in the other islands listed just above may have been more elaborate than they are now and told as part of a cycle.

In marginal islands like Uvea, Niue, Futuna, Santa Cruz, Ulawa, Tikopia, Ontong Java, Fiji, and the Tokelaus, only one or two myths, or only occasional statements, have been recorded about the Maui family. No evidence survives to indicate that, even before Europeans altered the native culture, these islands, which are peripheral socially and geographically to Polynesian cultural centers, had enough myths about Maui to create a cycle.

Not only is it a marked tendency of Polynesians to collect floating bits of folklore, myths, traditions, and legends about a real or mythical hero into a cycle, but they combine and integrate cycles about two or more heroes. To give these series of cycles literary and pseudo-historical unity, narrators subordinate component parts of the cycles to a dominant leitmotif and introduce connecting links between cycles. A common device, for example, is to place heroes in a definite sequence in genealogies as relatives of each other. By claiming prominent mythical heroes as relatives and by tracing the descent of heroes from gods, aristocratic families create impressive genealogies and histories for themselves. Variants of the Maui cycle illustrate the skillful use which narrators make of various literary forms and devices.

Polynesian hero cycles are usually in prose interspersed with chants and songs. While the prose varies according to a narrator's taste and knowledge, the incorporated chants are more stable and frequently are remembered when the plot they ornament is forgotten. Some have undoubtedly survived because of their importance as magical spells for such purposes as to lighten heavy weights, to insure a good crop, and to heal a burn.

The presence of an interested aristocratic class and a very strong priesthood accounts for the elaborate and closely knit literature in many Polynesian islands and the preservation and diffusion of ancient heroic names and mythological motifs. An analogous situation existed in the growth of oral traditions in ancient Scandinavia, Ireland, and Greece.

In addition to the above definition of the hero cycle, definitions of other basic terms as myth, catchword, motif, pattern, and author-raconteur will clarify later discussion and facilitate reading the cycles.

A myth, as a literary composition, is a complex of elements made up of episodes and the lesser units of incidents and details which have been organized into a plot centered about a dominant motif. This motif or theme is designated by a catchword, as, for instance, sun-snaring or snaring the sun is the catchword of the theme around which one of the Maui myths is oriented. A variant is a particular version of either a myth or a cycle. A myth-complex is the unorganized aggregate of all elements of which variants of a particular myth are composed. Stock-in-trade refers to the totality of elements peculiar to a mythology upon which the litterateur draws. It is the cultural storehouse of literature belonging to a people.

The term author-raconteur (Radin, 220) describes the individual who is both the creative agent and the perpetuator of the oral literature. An author-raconteur's creative reinterpretation and synthesis of the mythological stock-in-trade peculiar to a certain island at a particular time achieves the "uniqueness of the real," to use Hegel's phrase to describe the rich individuality which distinguishes each variant of a myth or a cycle from another even though from the same island.

The term biographer as applied to Polynesian narrators of myths and cycles about Maui is synonymous with author-raconteur. It seems peculiarly suited to the composer and narrator of a hero cycle. Each biographer interprets Maui in the light of the culture not only of his era and island, but of his particular social and intellectual set. The same is true of Europeans, myself included, who have advanced theories about Maui.

The concept of mythological or literary pattern refers to the repeated tendency of a people to select and emphasize certain mythological elements and modes of expression in preference to others and to orient whatever is new according to pre-existent models. Secondary interpretation, or reinterpretation, is the generic term for the process of integrating a myth or a cycle into a specific cultural background by adapting it to the literary pattern. Local variations of a literary pattern, myth, and cycle, can be distinguished depending upon whether interest is focused upon the myths of an individual, a family, a sect, an island, an archipelago, a region, or a cultural area.

Units of a mythological stock-in-trade exist and diffuse independently of each other. They live longer and diffuse more readily than any specific plot, pattern, or association in a cycle. Within a particular island or region, originally disparate and fluid elements may congeal into a certain myth which is organized and interpreted according to the literary pattern peculiar to the author-raconteur's cultural background. This myth may spread to other islands or regions and be skeletonized by losing incidents or it may be elaborated with new details. Before this myth inevitably dissolves in time and space,

and before its units form new associations, its variants are sometimes preserved in written records.

Studies to be published later will define more precisely the essence of the Maui cycle and what its constant, or relatively constant, features are. These studies will be based on detailed analyses of specific themes and their recurrence in myths about Maui. For the present study and its purpose as an introduction to the corpus of Polynesian and European literature on Maui, it is sufficient to indicate, in general, the principal characteristics of the cycle.

### THE NAME OF MAUI

As the major ingredient in creating a hero cycle is to orient the myths about one character, this character should have a name and personality so striking and memorable that the author-raconteurs and their listeners constantly associate the name and personality not only with certain mythological themes but with certain types of themes.

The name of Maui is a persistent and basically necessary element of the Maui cycle. It is amazing how the name has clung to certain myths, like those of fishing up land, stealing fire, and snaring the sun. Although people with widely different languages have adopted the hero and twisted his name to their various tongues, the name is still recognizable, and the adventures associated with the name are frequently based on the same themes.

What information exists on the subject gives the pronunciation of Maui with each syllable distinct, thus, Ma-u-i. This three-syllable pronunciation survives in many Polynesian islands. The name is said to be less accented in New Zealand, but, judging from Captain Cook's phonetic spelling of the name as Ma-u-we, or Ma-u-wi, it too was given a three-syllable emphasis. The slurring of the *u* and *i* into *we* or *wi* by Europeans is readily understandable. William Mariner, a sailor who lived among the Tongans during the early 1880's, spells the hero's name as Mōooi or Mōooi, also a three-syllable division (Martin, 190, vol. 2, p. 112). A present tendency is to give the name a two-syllable Anglicized pronunciation similar to that current for the Hawaiian Island of Maui, thus, Mau-i, Maw-i, or Mow-ee. The distribution of the name Maui in Oceania was given above (pp. 6-9).

Almost as persistent as the name Maui is the epithet of Tikitiki frequently attached to it. The name, Maui-tiki-tiki, in its various dialectical forms, is quite general throughout Oceania. Its wide distribution gives the impression that it is an extremely old part of the cycle. It is found in all islands knowing Maui except Mangaia, the Australs, Rapa, Tongareva, Niue, the Tokelaus, Ontong Java, and Ulawa which merely call the hero Maui, or its dialectical equivalents, without any epithet. Other marginal islands without the name of Maui-tikitiki are Manihiki, Rakahanga, Pukapuka, and Futuna. However,

they have epithets for Maui, calling him Maui-muri, Maui-potiki, or Maui-alonga. *Muri* and *potiki* appear frequently in Polynesia as secondary epithets for the hero or as primary epithets for his brothers. The Futunan epithet *alonga* may be due to the loss of the particle *ta* and a dialectical shift from *r* to *l*.

Table 1 shows dialectical variations of the name Maui-tikitiki throughout Oceania. It reveals how persistent and recognizable the name is even if its pronunciation has changed. All Polynesia uses the form Maui, except Rotuma which calls the hero Moea. In Melanesia, Ulawa calls him Mauwa (Fox, 108; p. 10), whereas Ontong Java (Sarfert and Damm, 230, p. 333) retains the familiar pronunciation of Maui, as do some New Hebridean narrators in Efate, Nguna, and Aneiteum (Humphreys, 149, p. 112). The New Hebrideans not only call the hero Maui but sometimes alter the name to Mai, Ma, Moi, Mo, and Amo when they use it as prefix with epithets (Ray, 223, p. 147; Gunn, 140, p. 217; Paton, 208, p. 157). The Carolines change the name to Mo, Mai, and Maau (Müller, 199, pp. 526, 527; Krämer, 157, pp. 378, 381; Damm, 77, p. 360), whereas Tikopia (Rivers, 226, vol. 1, p. 339) uses the form Me, and Santa Cruz, Mo (Coombe, 67, p. 192). Both the Carolines and Tikopia use these forms only as prefixes, as does Santa Cruz.

Table 1.—Dialectical Variations of Maui-tikitiki

NAME	ISLAND
Maui-tikitiki	New Zealand, Chathams, Tuamotus except Vahitahi), Cook Islands, Mangareva; Aneiteum, Efate, Nguna (New Hebrides)
Maui-tiitii	Society Islands
Maui-tikatika	Vahitahi (Tuamotus)
Maui-kikii or -kiikii or ikiiki	Hawaiian Islands
Maui-kijikiji	Tonga and Fiji
Maui-kisikisi	Tonga and Uvea
Moea-tiktiki	Rotuma
Mo-sigsig	Santa Cruz
Mo-tiketik	Yap and Feis (Carolines)
Mo-tgitig	Yap (Carolines)
Maau-tik	Lamotrek (Carolines)
Ma-thikethik, Maitix	Mogmog (Carolines)
Maitik	Ponape (Carolines)
Me-tikitiki	Tikopia
Maui-tikitiki	Aneiteum, Efate, Nguna
Ma-tikitiki	Tanna, Futuna, Aniwa, Aneiteum (New Hebrides)
Mo-shikishi	Aniwa, Futuna (New Hebrides)
Maui-tukituki	Efate (New Hebrides)
Maui-tikitiki	Efate and Tanna
Ma-tiktiki, Ma-tiktik, Mo-tikitiki	Tanna
Amo-shishiki, Moshi, Mo-shishiki, Mai-siki	Futuna
Ma-tshiktshiki	Aniwa
Moi-tikitiki, Moi-tukketukke	Aneiteum

The composite name Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga, or its dialectical variations, occurs only in eastern Polynesia in the Chathams, New Zealand, Rarotonga, the Society Islands, Tuamotus, Mangareva, and the Hawaiian Islands. It has a more limited distribution than either the name Maui alone or the longer form of Maui-tikitiki. The narrower range suggests that it is not as old as either the simple name Maui or Maui-tikitiki and originated in eastern Polynesia. Oddly enough, although the long name, Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga, is absent in the west, the epithets appear as independent names. Thus the dialectical equivalent of Tikitiki-a-Taranga is the complete name of a character in Samoa, and the Tokelau Islands. Tokelau narrators (Macgregor, 185) tell myths about both Maui and a character called Tiki-tiki-a-Taranga, whom they regard as two different people with, however, similar mythological personalities and adventures. The breaking up of the long name as it diffuses from its area of origin is a small-scale example of the process of myth degeneration and reorganization.

The meaning of the name Maui has caused much debate among Europeans. Often it has been interpreted to fit the biographer's theories. Yet the name is so widespread and the length of time with which certain myths have been linked with it is so variable that the etymology of the name is of scant assistance in understanding the complex significance, qualities, and functions of Maui in Oceanic life.

Maui's European biographers regard his name and the word as ancient. Maui, as a name and as a noun, has been interpreted as referring to "the left hand," "to live or to subsist," "to turn aside as in a course or to subside," "to be in a fit of anger," and other concepts. Connotations, probably stemming from adventures in the cycle, are "witchcraft," "the game of cat's cradle" and also "ceremony" (Tregear, 286).

Most theories about the meaning of the name Maui were advanced during the late nineteenth century when philologists tried to find that language which they could identify as the mother stock of the Indo-European languages. Similar sounding words in Arabic, Sanskrit, Polynesian, Egyptian, and many other languages were analyzed by the comparative linguists. Typical of the popular theories of that day about the meaning of Maui is the following statement by Tregear (285, p. 390) :

It would also seem that, in comparison with the New Zealand words *tiki*, "a deity," *tikitiki*, "a top-knot," etc., we should consider as a variant our *tiketike*, "high, lofty;" the Samoan *tī'etī'e*, "to be seated on high;" the Hawaiian *kīekīe*, "high, lofty, exalted, holy;" the Tahitian *faa-tietie*, "glory, honour, to boast," etc ; this concurrence appearing to show a radical (TIK) implying a supreme chief and leader. As a possible explanation, I therefore offer a suggestion (and a suggestion only) that Maui's title implies that he was the leader of the Polynesian expedition into the Pacific. *Ka* is Hawaiian for the definite article "the" (which in Maori letters would be *ta*, perhaps an old form of *te*) ; thus *Maui-Tikitiki-a-ta-ranga* would mean "Maui, Chief of the Fleet." In Sanscrit,

*taranga* means "a waving, a motion to and fro;" *tarana*, "a raft or boat"—both these evidently connected with *tara*, "who or what passes over or beyond; passing over; a crossing; a passage"—thus giving an Asiatic value to this work as signifying "migration." I offer this idea to those of the realistic school who abhor the solar myth theory; the "Euhemerists." On the other hand, to their opponents, I offer a possible explanation of Maui's name as perhaps meaning "Light-seeker," *Ma-ui*; *ma*, or *mah*, being a very widely-spread name for "light" in the ancient world, and *ui* meaning "to inquire." It would be a most appropriate name for our fire-seeking hero.

Polynesian author-raconteurs tell as many different stories of the meaning of the name as do European scholars, and they have played upon the name in good Polynesian literary style to embellish their stories. It seems impossible to tell now whether the name came first or the incidents which purport to explain the reason for the hero getting all or part of his long name.

For example, one meaning of the word *tikitiki* is a topknot of hair. Men sometimes swept up their hair, which both sexes often let grow long, to the top of their heads, bundled it into a big knot, and fastened it with various ornaments. Like modern hairdressers they filled out the knot with stuffing if the hair was thin or short. Particularly among those Polynesians who lived in a warm climate and wore few clothes, valuables were hidden in the ear and the hair. Maui, according to certain storytellers in New Zealand and the Society Islands, received the name of Tikitiki because his mother wrapped him as an abortion or blood clot in a length of her hair. Maui's mother cast the *tikitiki*-wrapped bundle into the sea or into the bush. Another Maori version (Poata, 209) is that a drop of her blood fell on her tiki, an ornament shaped in a compact human form. From this drop of blood Maui developed. His name recalls the incident. A Polynesian mythological character named Tiki is often said to have been the first human being, a kind of Polynesian Adam. Some theorists who believe Maui and Tiki are identical regard Maui's epithet, Tikitiki, as a compound of Tiki.

Many islands with the epithet Tikitiki do not explain its meaning. Neither do they narrate any incident to connect the epithet with any event in the Maui family history.

Storytellers use in different ways the name Taranga, who sometimes is Maui's mother, sometimes his father. Usually the name Taranga is attached to Maui's name with a prefix *a*, meaning of (or by), thus, Maui-tikitiki-a(of)-Taranga. Occasionally the name is split or lopped off to make a pun. A clever Society Archipelago narrator abbreviated the name to *te ra*, the sun. Thus he made Maui the son of the sun, a really splendid ancestry. Another literary use of Taranga is to split it and alter the vowels to form *te rangi*, the sky. Maui-te-rangi (Maui-the-sky) was the name of certain Maori chiefs and appears once in a while as a name in the Maui cycle.

Neither Europeans nor Polynesians agree about the meaning of the various epithets forming Maui's long, composite name. Debating the different mean-

ings and their possible origin is entertaining but does not help to understand the nature of the hero and his exploits in the life of the people. European scholars wanted to show what a small world the universe is after all because similar words occur in every language. Polynesians wanted to tell a good story to make people laugh. When they wanted to build up Maui as the most ancient and distinguished ancestor of a local aristocratic family, they modified his epithets to suit their purpose.

The name Maui is so old that whatever its original meaning may have been there now is no way of telling how or why it stuck to a certain mythological personality or whether the name originally described that personality and his tricks or was just a name. More can be learned about the hero from reading the cycles about him and comparing the ways that author-raconteurs have interpreted his career than by debating the origin of his name.

#### THE PERSONALITY AND DEEDS OF MAUI

Another fairly stable element in the Maui cycle is the hero's personality as a happy-go-lucky young culture hero, transformer, and trickster. Although in Rarotonga and in the Society Islands individual narrators, for religious or for family purposes, have occasionally worked as assiduously as Lady Macbeth to remove lurid spots and whitewash the hero's character, Maui is predominantly a defier of precedent, a remodeler of the world and its society, and a mischievous, adolescent trickster. In all versions of his career, Maui, in one respect or another, makes great or small changes in the world and society. In most versions, especially those from Polynesia where Maui peculiarly belongs, he is a capricious and mischievous youth, whose modifications of existing conditions are carried out as tricks against authority. Most islanders say that Maui died young.

Reverend Wohlers, a missionary in New Zealand during the mid-nineteenth century, describes Maui's personality as a conglomeration of contrasting traits (310, p. 10). He says: "A strange person—not a god, and not like other men, neither good nor yet absolutely bad; but always dealing in mischief and wicked practical jokes. It is certainly an ancient personage, for itself and its deeds are known and talked of by the whole Polynesian race. The word *maui*, in the present language, means left, or left-handed; but I do not know if any meaning has been intended by this proper name."

Maui is less than a god, but more than a man. Not absolutely good, not absolutely bad. Loved but not worshiped. Earth-bound but a heaven-burster. Comic yet tragic. Petty and heroic. Boy and man. Benefactor and destroyer. He is the Polynesian Peter Pan and Peck's Bad Boy, their Joseph, Joshua, and Moses.

Maui represents mankind, its diversity of conflicting tugs and inner wars

between ambition and conventionality, its debates between "me" and "we." To Polynesians, Maui is the divine scapegoat. Through him they escape from the weight of their rigid tapus. They end, though, by telling of his death for having overreached himself and his own authority. They punish him for their sins of inventing and telling myths about a man who is not a god but dares to defy the gods and ancient, hide-bound conventions.

Maui is primitive only because he combines within himself so many humanly appealing virtues and vices. In more complex societies they have been isolated, one by one, and selectively attached to a single hero who comes to symbolize that quality. Maui really cannot be compared with any other hero. No single being embodies within himself the variety of functions and qualities of personality that Maui does.

The primal gods and their artisans left their jobs of world-making incomplete or unpolished, and withdrew to devote themselves to their tempestuous family affairs. To them the *status quo* was satisfactory. They were uninterested in perfecting the universe they had created. They were indifferent to the people on earth, except those miserable creatures who forgot a word in a magical chant or skimmed on sacrifices to the gods. Human beings with their pitiful powers of endurance and invention lived sadly on earth without conveniences and luxuries that the gods selfishly kept for their own comfort.

Mahuika, an irascible underworld deity, doled out ready-made fire to them. Ordinary people, without knowledge of fire and cooking, ate their food raw or dried it in the sun. Food never was properly prepared even in the simplest way because the undisciplined sun raced through the sky as fast as he could to finish his route and get back into his underworld bed. The days were too short to build temples, gather and prepare food, or to dry and pound bark into tapa. Human ingenuity was at a low level. The simplest inventions (in retrospect, of course), like barbs on hooks and spears, notches on barbs, crayfish nets, and trapdoors on fish traps, were unknown to the people on earth until Maui invented them.

Maui forced the gods to share their comforts with mankind. Because of him they adjusted their desultory habits to give human beings a wider range of pleasure, movement, and experience. Maui never created anything from nothing. He was a culture hero, a transformer who changed the facilities of the world which others had already created. The Maori of New Zealand extoll him for his benefactions by calling him Maui-atamai, Maui-the-wise or Maui-the-good.

Hawaiians say (Westervelt, 302, p. 132) that when man was created he was able to stand upright but not move because his arms and legs were jointless and bound by a web of skin. Maui was furious with the motionless creature. He broke its legs, ankles, knees, and hips to create joints, tore the arms away from the body, and destroyed the web. As a result, man can move

from place to place and does not have to stand still like an ironwood tree. Although Maui neglected to make fingers or toes, mankind developed them when struggling to gather food. According to the Maori, Maui himself, like many Polynesian supernatural beings, had only three fingers, more than enough for all kinds of good and bad deeds.

Maui was a born rebel against the existing order of a society of gods and men which had the tapu and all its implications of restricted behavior as one of its fundamental concepts. Awed whispers about a tough old god of great supernatural power would awaken Maui's curiosity. Then off he would go, flouting every tapu and agonized parental warning, to match his mana (magical power) against that of the god, to destroy the god and strip him of his spiritual and material possessions, or to cripple and confuse. The Maori say, "All saw his actions. None knew his intentions."

While myths and opinions about Maui vary from one island to another and from one family or social class to another, most storytellers agree that the egotistical satisfaction of demolishing the old gods and proving his own sorcery usually gratified Maui more than giving mankind fire or new land. The Maori say (White, 306, vol. 2) that there would be no fire today had not a quick-minded seed of fire escaped and taken refuge in a tree after Maui had called down rain, hail, and snow to save himself from the fire god's wrath. More exciting to the listeners than the account of how Maui finally brought some fire back to the earth is the description of how he dared to violate terrifying tapus to prove his mana greater than that of the old gods. In daily life, Maui's tricky treatment of the fire god is commented upon as often as his theft of fire. A Maori mother snaps at a tiresome child, "Ko Maui tinihanga koe!" (You Maui-of-a-thousand-tricks! You tease me as much as Maui did Mahuika) (Grey, 132, p. 53).

Raconteurs in Anaa and Fangatau in the Tuamotus have so altered the fire myth that Maui destroys even the heart of the god's fire (Stimson, 264, 265). Nothing is said of bringing fire back to the upper world. To these storytellers, fire for mankind was not the object of Maui's trip to the underworld. Instead Maui schemed to kill the fire god for not admitting that he was his grandfather. The fire god had refused to baptize the boy and to build him a house which, as an older relative, he should have done. Maui took the god's fire to destroy his strength, just as Samson lost his hair and strength simultaneously. Listeners enjoy the blow-by-blow description of the wrestling match between the powerful but crotchety god of the old guard and the smart young relative with a fresh and unconventional perspective about important people.

Maui's great exploits took place during his late adolescence. Polynesians describe him as a small, precocious, ugly, flat-headed boy who had, however,

the bold, flashing eyes of a warrior. No one ever called him handsome except that Maori narrator who told of the beauty of Maui's tattooing as the hero prepared to attack the goddess of death. But that was a literary trick to win a tear for a renegade who, during a brief life, killed at least two grandparents, set the world on fire, and almost beat his ancient ancestor, the sun, to death with a club made from the jawbone of a grandmother he had starved to death.

Benefits and destruction alternated in his career. While he starved one grandmother to death to get her jawbone, he treated another grandmother better. This old lady, who is well known to Polynesians, guards the entrance to the underworld where she keeps a perpetual fire burning to prepare what some narrators claim are cannibal feasts, spiced with fried bananas. She was formerly so blind, however, that instead of lifting food from the fire with her tongs, she carefully picked up live coals and set them aside while her food burned. Maui could easily have slipped past her unnoticed even before she had a chance to grab her huge, man-catching fishhook trimmed with red feathers which she swung around her whenever she heard a suspicious sound. But he decided to do her a good turn because he wanted something from her. According to Manihikians, he picked some apples and bit off chunks which he spat into her eyes. This therapy immediately restored her vision. She then recognized him as a relative and gratefully told him that the world was his. She made him grandiose but excessive promises. Everything in the upper and lower worlds would hereafter be subject to him, she said, and before he went on his way she would teach him a few magical tricks which he would find useful some day.

Maui went happily on his way, but immediately counterbalanced his good deed by what he did to his grandfather. He walked on to his grandfather's home, introduced himself, bragged of things he had done, and finally got the old man started on his accomplishments. The old god brought out his girdle of rainbows, fastened it on, told Maui to watch carefully, and took off for the upper air. Just when his grandfather had risen above the top of the highest coconut tree, Maui jerked the girdle off the old man. He crashed into many pieces and died. Then word came to Maui that his parents were on their way to visit the god. He was worried, perhaps because his parents were better disciplinarians than the gods. He grabbed up the old man's bones, put them into a coconut shell, muttered a string of incantations, shook the bones up well, and brought his grandfather back to life. Maui's parents, seeing the old gentleman pale, lame, rattled, and altogether unlike his usual haughty self, inquired solicitously about his health. When they heard his story, they were annoyed with Maui, and tried to seize him and scold him for his naughtiness and teasing (Gill, 122).

Polynesians in New Zealand, Rotuma, Mangareva, and the Society Islands often rationalize the source of Maui's extraordinary mana and love

of tricks. They say that he developed either from a miscarriage or a clot of his mother's blood which she wrapped up and threw into the ocean or into the bush. Polynesians believe that such a castoff is viable and will develop into a mischievous, malevolent spirit or minor demi-god. Because its mother has abandoned it and the affection and religious ceremonies held for a normal child have never made it devoted and loyal to its relatives and other members of its tribe, the castoff takes a peevish revenge by playing irritating gnomelike tricks. When a medicine man's religious rites have subjugated and placated it, the abortion may act as the magician's familiar spirit, run errands for him, endow his magic with special viciousness, and give him predictions about tribal wars and feuds.

The castoff which became Maui-of-a-thousand-tricks did not have quite the usual career of other, unfortunate blood clots, miscarriages, and abortions. Gods and spirits of the ocean, bush, and heavens rescued him and treated him tenderly and affectionately. They taught him magic, and his facility in grasping their teaching and his success in applying it filled them with awe. Later, Maui left the gods to seek his family, to tell them his story, and to participate in earthly life. His mother joyfully recognized him and petted him so much that his older brothers seethed with jealousy. When Maui met his father, arrangements were made to baptize and ceremonially purify the boy and make him an acceptable member of human society and the Maui tribe.

These pleasant circumstances altered the character of Maui from what it would have been had he developed like an ordinary blood clot or miscarriage. The spirit of such an object is shunned by both men and supernatural beings, lives to itself, broods over its lack of affection and status, and thinks up mischief to annoy villagers and their gods. Maui was saved from such an extreme psychology by his parents' prayers and ceremonies. He retained, however, many traces of the mischievous, warped independence of a castaway toward sacred, inviolable tapus in the highly ordered society of Polynesian men and gods. His training and association with the gods who had been his foster parents had made him contemptuous of them. He was familiar with their arts and was as skilled as they. The knowledge acquired from them embellished his mana with nearly supreme potency and strength. When he chose the world of human beings as his home, the ceremonies and love of his parents determined him to use his mana to change everyday life as a test of his magic against that of the pantheon.

Maui's tragedy was to be torn throughout his life between a human and a godlike career. He surrendered eternal existence and the homage due to a divine being to throw in his lot with mortal beings. Myths portray him as inevitably and irresistibly drawn back to the fireside of his human relatives. Once he had returned, however, he was equally inevitably compelled, because

of his origin as a prodigy, to revolt against the mysteries and limitations of earthly life. He seemed determined to put himself definitely over the line—if such a line can be said to exist clearly in Polynesian philosophy—between spirits and human beings. He wanted, if possible, to destroy that line. Maui intended to equalize the differences between gods and men. Thereby he would harmoniously integrate his mortal and godly traits.

The human side of his nature triumphed when he asked his foster parents to tell him the way to his mother's home, or, when as in Rotuma Island, he hung around the fireside of his parents, unknown to them, and longed to join them. He wanted to be a human boy like his brothers, to share in the dancing and games of the community assembly house. Because he had been denied the full nine-months' term of his mother's protection and denied the usual care for a newborn child, he was all the more eager for her affection now. That, for a castoff, he had received extraordinary attention and affection from the gods, did not satisfy Maui-the-boy. His restlessness and perversity were innate qualities of beings with the same origin as himself.

Like a returned prodigal who cannot slide easily into the daily routine of the homestead, Maui followed his mother and brothers about, unwilling to let them out of his sight and curious as to every activity and absence of family members. His brothers resented the ugly little fellow's monopoly of their mother's affection. She petted and praised him extravagantly, but every morning at dawn she would disappear and leave him alone with his brothers all day. This worried him and eventually led him to go to the underworld to spy on her and embark on a series of great deeds.

His brothers distrusted him for the very tricks he showed them in the hope that they would admire and like him. Instead they became more jealous. They also feared him and objected when he wanted to go fishing with them. He was too inhumanly tricky, they said. However, he always went with them in the end. Once he turned himself into a bird to fly out to their boat at sea. Another time he became an insect and hid under a plank in the boat. It was on one of these trips that he fished up islands and nearly frightened his brothers to death.

The brothers muddled some of his big jobs, as when they broke the charm and the islands fell off Maui's fishhook. Sometimes they were malicious, but more often they did not recognize how inferior their magic was to his or what a great deed he had in mind.

Occasionally, as in Mangareva, one of the brothers would be soft-hearted and plead for Maui. When, in New Zealand, the boys fought too much among themselves, Maui-mua, the oldest brother who was going to be a priest, lectured them on how brothers should cherish each other and not fight. Maui's brothers were conservative, well-behaved, and respected in the community. They did everything the way tradition and convention dictated. Maui, however, thought

them weaklings. They, in turn, despised him for his nonconformity. They did not want to attract any kind of attention, either through excessive vice or excessive virtue. Maui-mua was going to become a priest as tradition dictated that the oldest son should. The younger brothers would become warriors and farmers. The youngest brother would become a renegade. The older boys did not have the supernormal but vacillating energy and laziness, the inquiring mind, the over-all perspective, and the exaggerated ambitions and emotions of Maui-of-a-thousand-tricks.

When Maui turned against the gods the petulance, peevishness, and magical power which were his inheritance as an abnormal and supernatural child, the results sometimes helped human beings. His human neighbors, however, did not appreciate what he did for them. They did not see in Maui's quixotic behavior any noble attempt toward sublimating his hostile impulses or a desire to better world conditions. To them, his chronically aggressive behavior was anti-social, proof that he was a juvenile delinquent with a perverse pleasure in annoying them, angering and defying the gods, breaking the hearts of loving parents and relatives, and destroying society and the physical world. They saw no need for changing the world. It was admittedly trying to have so little sunlight that sand got mixed into the food, and so little air from the overhanging skies that people constantly coughed from the smoke, and so little standing room that they crawled along the ground like animals. But the gods had made it that way. In their good time and if it suited them they would change it.

Maui was "born bad," literally and figuratively speaking, people said, and he would come to a bad end. They hoped that it would be before he had wrecked the universe and them. The anguish and apprehension that Maui cost mortal beings did not concern him at all. He wanted revenge for disillusionments and frustrations he had suffered by returning to the earth.

News of Maui's prowess spread among the gods, who resented and feared him. He won his advantages by trapping them and catching them unawares. They counted, unfortunately for them, on his being only half a god and on his being respectful to them as a younger relative should be. He constantly demanded of them every privilege that an older relative owes a younger, but never accorded them the honor he, in turn, owed them. The gods were so rigid and so accustomed to traditions which they had made themselves that the possibility of a lesser being not respecting them did not occur to them until the audacious boy had weakened their mana.

Only one deity was destined to overcome Maui, the goddess of death. In New Zealand, Maui's mother told the neighbors that her boy would grow up to destroy this goddess so that mankind would live forever and be, like the moon, eternally renewed.

This was Maui's greatest adventure. It proved him to be more man than god. He died as a man does and as a god cannot. The conflict between his divine and human qualities was resolved by death. He was only a super-super-man, not a god. He could not destroy the real line between gods and men.

What makes his death bitterly tragic is that his failure to outwit Death was not due to any fault of his but because one of his little bird companions laughed and woke up the goddess, or because his father forgot a word in Maui's baptismal chant, or, according to Marquesans, because his mother, weary of Maui's thousand tricks, gave him false information.

He died through the weakness of one of the human beings or creatures with whom he had allied himself in preference to the gods. The prodigal foster son of the gods returned to their company at last, but as the spirit of a mortal man and by the route of death, the only route by which a man can return. He could not reverse the order of life and death.

Any story which had to do with a conflict with the *status quo* was drawn like a magnet to the name of Maui, once his mythological personality as a trickster and cunning modifier of the existing state had begun to emerge. This type of personality, together with his name, is the fundamental characteristic of almost all versions of the Maui cycle in Polynesia but has been most sharply defined in eastern Polynesia from Hawaii south to New Zealand. Exceptional versions of his cycle of adventures which describe him as other than a trickster betray, as we shall see later in the case of a variant from the Society Islands, evidence of later day tinkering by author-raconteurs.

Certain specific adventures also identify the Maui cycle, although an adventure known to several islands may occasionally be told of a hero other than Maui. However, myths that describe the stealing of fire, the fishing up of islands, and the snaring of the sun are more often told of Maui than of any other Polynesian mythological being. A numerical illustration will show how frequently Maui plays the leading role in a specific adventure. Of 68 Polynesian references to magical practices and myths about halting the sun in its too rapid flight over the earth, 56 cite Maui as being the sun-snarer (Luomala, 171). The proportion is equally great or greater for Polynesian versions of myths of fishing up land and stealing fire from some demon who hoards it.

Besides these mythological motifs which occur widely throughout Oceania, innumerable adventures of less extensive distribution are told of Maui. Frequent themes include those based on his origin from a clot of blood or a mis-birth, on his place in the family as the youngest of several brothers, and on his exploits of raising the sky and controlling the winds. He also has many adventures in killing man-eating monsters. The Maui cycle also includes characters like the hero's parents and his brothers, his wife, and the fire demon—characters who rarely appear except in association with Maui, whose myths validate whatever function they have in the culture.

MAUI'S GREATEST BIOGRAPHY: A MASTERPIECE  
OF PRIMITIVE LITERATURE

## ITS COLLECTOR AND TRANSLATOR

It would be no more possible to select the "typical" version of Maui's biography than the "true" version. Therefore, that account which is most familiar to Europeans, that given by Sir George Grey (131), is presented here to acquaint with Maui those who do not know him. Aside from its outstanding aesthetic quality, this particular version is worth quoting in full because it is prominent in theories about Maui and includes many exploits and *dramatis personae* associated with the hero throughout Oceania. Most of the names and themes found in this cycle occur time after time in versions of Maui's career from other islands. Not present in this version is the myth of raising the sky.

Sir George Grey, who ardently studied the Maori language and literature to understand and govern the people wisely, used his unexcelled opportunities to gather their myths. He was a leader of the movement to collect and publish native texts accompanied by literal translations, and his work is a landmark in Polynesian anthropology.

He writes in the preface to his collection that upon becoming Governor-General he soon perceived that he would have to be able at all times and in all places to listen to Maori grievances. Even if he could not always assist them, he wanted to be able to give them a kind reply so that they would understand that he felt for them. However, he found himself handicapped even though he had capable interpreters on his staff. He could not always have an interpreter with him, and sometimes a Maori who had come a great distance to talk to him had to be turned away if the Governor-General did not have his interpreter with him at the moment. It distressed Grey to "pass on without listening, and . . . witness with pain an expression of sorrow and keenly disappointed hope cloud over features which the moment before were bright with gladness, that the opportunity so anxiously looked for had at length been secured."

He soon learned too that "any tale of sorrow or suffering, passing through the medium of an interpreter, fell much more coldly on my ear, than what it would have done had the person interested addressed the tale direct to myself; and in like manner an answer delivered through the intervention of a third person, appeared to leave a very different impression upon the suitor to what it would have had coming direct from the lips of the Governor of the country."

He also noted how the suppliants hesitated to express themselves in the presence of interpreters and how the busy interpreters so compressed the pleas

that the Governor doubted whether he had been told ~~all~~ the facts presented. He wondered too if his replies had been ~~fully~~ reported to the ~~supper~~.

For these and other reasons, Sir George Grey felt it his ~~duty to study~~ the language, and the "manners, customs, and prejudices" of the people he governed. He had no dictionary to aid him, but he did win the assistance of the most celebrated chiefs of the time. Among them were Rangiheata, Te Rauparaha, Potatau, Te Heuheu, Patuone, and Te Taniwha. The Governor-General states that "probably to no other person but myself would many of their ancient rhythmical prayers and traditions have been imparted . . ." His high rank smoothed the way for him to win the confidence of chiefs who traced their ancestry to the primal gods.

Once, after many years of great effort, when he had amassed a large quantity of material in manuscript form, the Government House, where it had been stored, burned to the ground. He had to begin his work all over again.

The Governor-General had become fully aware in discussing grave matters of peace and war with the "oldest, least civilized, and most influential chiefs," that the myths, far from being merely entertaining pastimes, functioned pragmatically in every department of daily activity among the Maori. The chiefs "frequently quoted, in explanation of their views and intentions, fragments of ancient poems or proverbs, or made allusions which rested on an ancient system of mythology; and although it was clear that the most important parts of their communications were embodied in these figurative forms, the interpreters were quite at fault, they could then rarely (if ever) translate the poems or explain the allusions . . ."

Though vividly aware of their role as sanctions, Grey makes only scattered published references to important data he must have had on how the myths he gathered operated in the culture. Perhaps some of this material is included in his unpublished collections of manuscripts, of which a general catalog has been published (Grey, 133).

Of his efforts to make literal translations, he remarks, with unnecessary apology, that "it is almost impossible closely and faithfully to translate a very difficult language without almost insensibly falling somewhat into the idiom and form of construction of that language, which perhaps from its unusualness, may prove unpleasant to the European ear and mind . . ."

He gathered material throughout New Zealand, collecting the text of an incident here, another there, translating and collating them with Maori aid. Wohlers, his contemporary and fellow collector, confirms this method in his statement (310, p. 31) that Grey incorporated into his book texts which he had sent him from South Island, New Zealand. Scientifically, Grey's technique is not to be recommended. It obscures tribal differences and the specific provenience of myths. However, this information may be present in the collection of original manuscripts.

Grey does not mention from what tribe or tribes he obtained his native text of the Maui cycle which he published in "Polynesian mythology." However, his secretary, John White, who quotes the text with his own translation of it in his anthology, "The ancient history of the Maori," (306, vol. 2, pp. 91-107) gives the provenience of the cycle as the Arawa tribe on the east coast of New Zealand. Grey had particularly close contact with this tribe.

The late S. Percy Smith (245, vol. 32, p. 257), a distinguished scholar in Polynesian anthropology, supplies more information. He states that the major part of Grey's published collection was from Wiremu (William)-Maehe-Te-Rangikaheke of the Arawa. Smith does not specify what myths the part he refers to includes. Grey's Maui cycle bears every evidence in style of having been worked over by one author-raconteur.

Smith's other statements about Wiremu-Maehe-Te-Rangikaheke, who may have been the narrator of the Maui cycle to be quoted, are of interest: ". . . Wiremu had never been educated as a priest, and consequently many old men of the Arawa Tribe will tell you that his work is a *poġanoa*, or unauthorized proceeding, and not correct, inasmuch as it leaves out much detail, and actions are frequently credited to the wrong individuals. They have told me this themselves. This book [Polynesian mythology] must be looked on, therefore, as an outline, the detail of which is subject to correction. These remarks will not apply to other parts of the work, for, as far as is known, they were obtained from the proper authorities."

The priest's statement about Wiremu constitutes a significant fact on their attitude toward a narrator outside their circle. They recognize only their version of a myth or tradition as correct. Scientifically, the "unauthorized" version of a myth is not an "outline" and a confused deviation from a single "true" or "correct" form. It is a variant told by an individual of a particular tribe whose versions are as important scientifically as those of another.

To what extent, then, this version of the Maui cycle represents any particular tribe or narrator is not entirely clear from the records of the collectors. It may have been largely from Wiremu-Maehe-Te-Rangikaheke of the Arawa tribe of New Zealand. Internally, its unity, coherence, and depth of feeling point to the work of a literary genius reinterpreting the mythology of his people.

#### THE ARAWA MAUI CYCLE

##### [BIRTH AND RECOGNITION OF MAUI; VISIT TO THE UNDERWORLD]<sup>3</sup>

One day Maui asked his brothers to tell him the place where his father and mother dwelt. He begged earnestly that they would make this known to him in order that he might go and visit the place where the two old people dwelt. And they replied to him,

<sup>3</sup> Brackets indicate my interpolations. The punctuation has been altered slightly from the original to facilitate reading.

"We don't know. How can we tell whether they dwell up above the earth, or down under the earth, or at a distance from us?" Then he answered them, "Never mind, I think I'll find them out." And his brothers replied, "Nonsense, how can you tell where they are—you, the last born of all of us, when we your elders have no knowledge where they are concealed from us? After you first appeared to us, and made yourself known to us and to our mother as our brother, you know that our mother used to come and sleep with us every night. As soon as the day broke she was gone, and, lo, there was nobody but ourselves sleeping in the house. This took place night after night. How can we tell then where she went or where she lives?" But he answered, "Very well, you stop here and listen. By and by you will hear news of me."

For he had found something out after he was discovered by his mother, by his relations, and by his brothers. They discovered him one night whilst they were all dancing in the great House of Assembly. Whilst his relations were all dancing there, they then found out who he was in this manner. For little Maui, the infant, crept into the house, and went and sat behind one of his brothers, and hid himself. When their mother counted her children that they might stand up ready for the dance, she said, "One, that's Maui-taha. Two, that's Maui-roto. Three, that's Maui-pae. Four, that's Maui-waho." Then she saw another and cried out, "Hollo, where did this fifth come from?" Little Maui, the infant, answered, "Ah, I'm your child too." Then the old woman counted them all over again, and said, "Oh, no, there ought to be only four of you; now for the first time I've seen you." Then little Maui and his mother stood for a long time disputing about this in the very middle of the ranks of all the dancers.

At last she got angry, and cried out, "Come, you be off now, out of the house at once. You are no child of mine. You belong to some one else." Then little Maui spoke out quite boldly, "Very well, I'd better be off then, for I suppose, as you say it, I must be the child of some other person. But indeed I did think I was your child when I said so. I knew I was born at the side of the sea, and was thrown by you into the foam of the surf, after you had wrapped me up in a tuft of your hair, which you cut off for the purpose. Then the sea-weed formed and fashioned me, as caught in its long tangles the ever-heaving surges of the sea rolled me, folded as I was in them, from side to side. At length the breezes and squalls which blew from the ocean drifted me on shore again, and the soft jelly-fish of the long sandy beaches rolled themselves round me to protect me. Then again myriads of flies alighted on me to buzz about me and lay their eggs, that maggots might eat me, and flocks of birds collected round me to peck me to pieces. But, at that moment, appeared there also my great ancestor Tama-nui-ki-te-Rangi. He saw the flies and the birds collected in clusters and flocks above the jelly-fish. The old man ran, as fast as he could, and stripped off the encircling jelly-fish. Behold, within there lay a human being. Then he caught me up and carried me to his house, he hung me up in the roof that I might feel the warm smoke and the heat of the fire. Thus I was saved alive by the kindness of that old man. At last I grew, and then I heard of the fame of the dancing of this great House of Assembly. It was that which brought me here. But from the time I was in your womb, I have not heard the names of these your first-born children, as you have been calling them over, until this very night, when I again heard you repeating them. In proof of this I will now recite your names to you, my brothers. You are Maui-taha. And you are Maui-roto. And you are Maui-pae. And you are Maui-waho. And as for me I'm little Maui-the-baby [Maui-potiki], and here I am sitting before you."

When his mother, Taranga, heard all this, she cried out, "You dear little child, you are indeed my last-born, the son of my old age. Therefore I now tell you your name shall be Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga, or Maui-formed-in-the-top-knot-of-Taranga." He was called by that name.

After the disputing which took place on that occasion, his mother, Taranga, called to her last-born, "Come here, my child, and sleep with the mother who bore you, that I may kiss you, and that you may kiss me." When he ran to sleep with his mother, his elder brothers were jealous. They began to murmur about this to each other, "Well,

indeed, our mother never asks us to go and sleep with her; yet we are the children she saw actually born, and about whose birth there is no doubt. When we were little things she nursed us, laying us down gently on the large soft mats she had spread out for us. Then why does she not ask us now to sleep with her? When we were little things she was fond enough of us, but now we are grown older she never caresses us, or treats us kindly. But as for this little abortion, who can really tell whether he was nursed by the sea-tangles, or by whom, or whether he is not some other person's child? And here he is now sleeping with our mother. Who would ever have believed that a little abortion, thrown into the ocean, would have come back to the world again a living human being! Now this little rogue has the impudence to call himself a relation of ours."

Then the two elder brothers said to the two younger ones, "Never mind, let him be our dear brother. In the days of peace remember the proverb, 'When you are on friendly terms, settle your disputes in a friendly way; when you are at war, you must redress your injuries by violence.' It is better for us, oh brothers, to be kind to other people. These are the ways by which men gain influence in the world: by labouring for abundance of food to feed others, by collecting property to give to others, and by similar means by which you promote the good of others, so that peace spreads through the world. Let us take care that we are not like the children of Rangī-nui [Sky] and of Papa-tu-a-nuku [Earth], who turned over in their minds thoughts for slaying their parents. Four of them consented, but Tawhiri-ma-tea [Lord of tempests] had little desire for this, for he loved his parents. But the rest of his brothers agreed to slay them. Afterwards when Tawhiri saw that the husband was separated far from his wife, then he thought what it was his duty to do. He fought against his brothers. Thence sprang the cause which led Tu-matauenga [God of war] to wage war against his brethren and his parents. Now at last this contest is carried on even between his own kindred, so that man fights against man. Therefore, let us be careful not to foster divisions amongst ourselves, lest such wicked thoughts should finally turn us each against the other, and thus we should be like the children of Rangī-nui and of Papa-tu-a-nuku." The two younger brothers, when they heard this, answered, "Yes, yes, oh, eldest brother of ours, you are quite right. Let our murmuring end here."

It was now night. But early in the morning Taranga rose up, and suddenly, in a moment of time, she was gone from the house where her children were. As soon as they woke up they looked all about to no purpose, as they could not see her. The elder brothers knew she had left them, and were accustomed to it. But the little child was exceedingly vexed. Yet he thought, "I cannot see her, 'tis true, but perhaps she has only gone to prepare some food for us." No, no, she was off, far away.

Now at nightfall when their mother came back to them, her children were dancing and singing as usual. As soon as they had finished, she called to her last-born, "Come here, my child, let us sleep together." So they slept together. But as soon as day dawned she disappeared. The little fellow now felt quite suspicious at such strange proceedings on the part of his mother every morning. But at last, upon another night, as he slept again with his mother, the rest of his brothers that night also sleeping with them, the little fellow crept out in the night and stole his mother's apron, her belt, and clothes, and hid them. Then he went and stopped up every crevice in the wooden window and in the doorway, so that the light of the dawn might not shine into the house and make his mother hurry to get up. But after he had done this, his little heart still felt very anxious and uneasy lest his mother should, in her impatience, rise in the darkness and defeat his plans. But the night dragged its slow length along without his mother moving. At last there came the faint light of early morn, so that at one end of a long house you could see the legs of the people sleeping at the other end of it, but his mother still slept on. Then the sun rose up, and mounted far up above the horizon. Now at last his mother moved, and began to think to herself, "What kind of night can this be, to last so long?" Having thought thus she dropped asleep again. Again she awoke, and began to think to herself, but could not tell that it was broad daylight outside, as the window and every chink in the house were stopped closely up.

At last up she jumped, and finding herself quite naked, began to look for her clothes,

and apron, but could find neither. Then she ran and pulled out the things with which the chinks in the windows and doors were stopped up. Whilst doing so, oh, dear! oh, dear! there she saw the sun high up in the heavens. Then she snatched up, as she ran off, the old clout of a flax cloak, with which the door of the house had been stopped up, and carried it off as her only covering. Getting, at last, outside the house, she hurried away, and ran crying at the thought of having been so badly treated by her own children.

As soon as his mother got outside the house, little Maui jumped up, and kneeling upon his hands and knees peeped after her through the doorway into the bright light. Whilst he was watching her, the old woman reached down to a tuft of rushes. Snatching it up from the ground, she dropped into a hole underneath it. Clapping the tuft of rushes in the hole again, as if it were its covering, she disappeared. Then little Maui jumped on his feet, and, as hard as he could go, ran out of the house, pulled up the tuft of rushes, and peeping down, discovered a beautiful open cave running quite deep into the earth.

He covered up the hole again and returned to the house, and waking up his brothers who were still sleeping, he said, "Come, come, my brothers, rouse up, you have slept long enough. Come, get up. Here we are again cajoled by our mother." Then his brothers made haste and got up. Alas! alas! the sun was quite high up in the heavens.

The little Maui now asked his brothers again, "Where do you think the place is where our father and mother dwell?" They answered, "How should we know? We have never seen it. Although we are Maui-taha, and Maui-roto, and Maui-pae, and Maui-waho, we have never seen the place. And do you think you can find that place which you are so anxious to see? What does it signify to you? Cannot you stop quietly with us? What do we care about our father or about our mother? Did she feed us with food till we grew up to be men? Not a bit of it! Why, without doubt, Rangi [the heaven] is our father, who kindly sent offspring down to us—Hau-whenua (gentle breezes) to cool the earth and young plants; and Hau-ma-ringiringi (mists) to moisten them; and Hau-ma-rotoroto (fine weather) to make them grow; and Touarangi (rain) to water them; and Tomairangi (dews) to nourish them. He gave these offspring to cause our food to grow. Next Papa-tu-a-nuku (the earth) made her seeds to spring, and grow forth, and provide sustenance for her children in this long-continuing world."

Little Maui then answered, "What you say is truly quite correct. But such thoughts and sayings would better become me than you, for in the foaming bubbles of the sea I was nursed and fed. It would please me better if you would think over and remember the time when you were nursed at your mother's breast. It could not have been until after you had ceased to be nourished by her milk that you could have eaten the kinds of food you have mentioned. As for me, oh! my brothers, I have never partaken either of her milk or of her food. Yet I love her, for this single reason alone—that I lay in her womb. And because I love her, I wish to know where is the place where she and my father dwell."

His brothers felt quite surprised and pleased with their little brother when they heard him talk in this way. After a little time, when they had recovered from their amazement, they told him to try and find their mother and father. So he said he would go. It was a long time ago that he had finished his first labour, for when he first appeared to his relatives in their house of singing and dancing, he had on that occasion transformed himself into the likeness of all manner of birds, of every bird in the world. Yet no single form that he then assumed had pleased his brothers. But now when he showed himself to them, transformed into the semblance of a pigeon, his brothers said, "Ah, now indeed, oh, brother, you do look very well indeed, very beautiful, very beautiful, much more beautiful than you looked in any of the other forms which you assumed, and then changed from when you first discovered yourself to us."

What made him now look so well in the shape he had assumed was the belt of his mother, and her apron, which he had stolen from her while she was asleep in the house. The very thing which looked so white upon the breast of the pigeon was his mother's broad belt. He also had on her little apron of burnished hair from the tail of a dog.\*

\* That the dog had not yet been created does not bother the narrator.

The fastening of her belt was what formed the beautiful black feathers on his throat. He had once changed himself into this form a long time ago. Now that he was going to look for his father and mother, and had quitted his brothers to transform himself into the likeness of a pigeon, he assumed exactly the same form as on the previous occasion. When his brothers saw him thus again, they said, "Oh brother! oh brother! you do really look well indeed." When he sat upon the bough of a tree, oh, dear! he never moved, or jumped about from spray to spray, but sat quite still, cooing to himself. No one who had seen him could have helped thinking of the proverb, "A stupid pigeon sits on one bough, and jumps not from spray to spray." Early the next morning, he said to his brothers, as was first stated, "Now do you remain here and you will hear something of me after I am gone. It is my great love for my parents that leads me to search for them. Now listen to me, and then say whether or not my recent feats were not remarkable. For the feat of transforming oneself into birds can only be accomplished by a man who is skilled in magic. Yet here I, the youngest of you all, have assumed the form of all birds. Now, perhaps, after all, I shall quite lose my art, and become old and weakened in the long journey to the place where I am going." His brothers answered him thus, "That might be indeed, if you were going upon a warlike expedition, but, in truth, you are only going to look for those parents whom we all so long to see. If they are found by you, we shall ever after all dwell happily. Our present sorrow will be ended, and we shall continually pass backwards and forwards between our dwelling-place and theirs, paying them happy visits."

He answered them, "It is certainly a very good cause which leads me to undertake this journey. If, when reaching the place I am going to, I find everything agreeable and nice, then I shall, perhaps, be pleased with it. But if I find it a bad, disagreeable place, I shall be disgusted with it." They replied to him, "What you say is exceedingly true. Depart then upon your journey, with your great knowledge and skill in magic." Then their brother went into the wood, and came back to them again, looking just as if he were a real pigeon. His brothers were quite delighted. They had no power left to do anything but admire him.

Then off he flew, until he came to the cave which his mother had run down into, and lifted up the tuft of rushes. Then down he went, and disappeared in the cave, and shut up its mouth again so as to hide the entrance. Away he flew very fast indeed. Twice he dipped his wing, because the cave was narrow. Soon he reached nearly to the bottom of the cave, and flew along it. Again, because the cave was so narrow, he dipped first one wing and then the other, but the cave now widened, and he dashed straight on.

At last he saw a party of people coming along under a grove of trees. They were manapau trees<sup>5</sup> Flying on, he perched upon the top of one of these trees, under which the people had seated themselves. When he saw his mother lying down on the grass by the side of her husband, he guessed at once who they were. He thought, "Ah! there sit my father and mother right under me." He soon heard their names as they were called to by their friends who were sitting with them. Then the pigeon hopped down, and perched on another spray a little lower. It pecked off one of the berries of the tree and dropped it gently down. He hit his father with it on the forehead. Some of the party said, "Was it a bird which threw that down?" But the father said, "Oh, no, it was only a berry that fell by chance."

Then the pigeon again pecked off some of the berries from the tree, and threw them down with all its force. He struck both father and mother, so that he really hurt them. Then they cried out, and the whole party jumped up and looked into the tree. As the pigeon began to coo, they soon found out from the noise where it was sitting amongst the leaves and branches. The whole of them, the chiefs and common people alike, caught up stones to pelt the pigeon with. But they threw for a very long time, without hitting it. At last the father tried to throw up at it. Ah! he struck it! But Maui had himself contrived that he should be struck by the stone which his father threw. By his own choice,

<sup>5</sup> The *manapau* was a tree peculiar to the country from whence the people came, where the priests say it was known by that name.

no one could have hit him. He was struck exactly upon his left leg, and down he fell. As he lay fluttering and struggling upon the ground, they all ran to catch him, but lo, the pigeon had turned into a man.

All those who saw him were frightened at his fierce glaring eyes, which were red as if painted with red ochre. They said, "Oh, it is now no wonder that he so long sat still up in the tree. Had he been a bird he would have flown off long before, but he is a man." Some of them said, "No, indeed, rather a god—just look at his form and appearance, the like has never been seen before, since Rangi and Papa-tu-a-nuku were torn apart." Then Taranga said, "I used to see one who looked like this person every night when I went to visit my children, but what I saw then excelled what I see now. Just listen to me. Once, as I was wandering upon the sea-shore, I prematurely gave birth to one of my children. And I cut off the long tresses of my hair and bound him up in them, and threw him into the foam of the sea. After that he was found by his ancestor Tama-nui-ki-te-Rangi." Then she told his history nearly in the same words that Maui the infant had told it to herself and his brothers in their house. Having finished his history, Taranga ended her discourse to her husband and his friends.

Then his mother asked Maui, who was sitting near her, "Where do you come from? From the westward?" And he answered, "No." "From the northeast then?" "No." "From the southeast then?" "No." "From the south then?" "No." "Was it the wind which blows upon me, which brought you here to me then?" When she asked this, he opened his mouth and answered, "Yes." She cried out, "Oh, this then is indeed my child." She said, "Are you Maui-taha?" He answered, "No." Then said she, "Are you Maui-tikitiki-o-Taranga?" And he answered, "Yes." She cried aloud, "This is, indeed, my child. By the winds and storms and wave-uplifting gales he was fashioned and became a human being. Welcome, oh my child, welcome. By you shall hereafter be climbed the threshold of the house of your great ancestor Hine-nui-te-po, and death shall thenceforth have no power over man."

Then the lad was taken by his father to the water to be baptized. And after the ceremony prayers were offered to make him sacred and clean from all impurities. But when it was completed, his father Makea-tu-tara felt greatly alarmed, because he remembered that he had, from mistake, hurriedly skipped over part of the prayers of the baptismal service, and of the services to purify Maui. He knew that the gods would be certain to punish this fault by causing Maui to die. His alarm and anxiety were therefore extreme. At nightfall they all went into his house.

Maui, after these things, returned to his brothers to tell them that he had found his parents, and to explain to them where they dwelt.

### [MARU-TE-WHARE-AITU]

Shortly after Maui had thus returned to his brothers, he slew and carried off his first victim, who was the daughter of Maru-te-whare-aitu. Afterwards, by enchantments, he destroyed the crops of Maru-te-whare-aitu, so that they all withered.

### [MURI-RANGA-WHENUA'S JAWBONE]

He then again paid a visit to his parents, and remained for some time with them. And whilst he was there he remarked that some of their people daily carried away a present of food for some person. At length, surprised at this, he one day asked them, "Who is that you are taking that present of food to?" And the people who were going with it answered him, "It is for your ancestress, for Muri-ranga-whenua."

He asked again, "Where does she dwell?" They answered, "Yonder."

Thereupon he said, "That will do. Leave here the present of food. I will carry it to her myself."

From that time the daily presents of food for his ancestress were carried by Maui himself. But he never took and gave them to her that she might eat them. He quietly

laid them by on one side. This he did for many days. At last, Muri-ranga-whenua suspected that something wrong was going on. And the next time he came along the path carrying the present of food, the old chieftainess sniffed and sniffed until she thought she smelt something coming and she was very much exasperated. Her stomach began to distend itself, that she might be ready to devour Maui as soon as he came there. Then she turned to the southward, and smelt and sniffed, but not a scent of anything reached her. Then she turned round from the south to the north, by the east, with her nose up in the air sniffing and smelling to every point as she turned slowly round, but she could not detect the slightest scent of a human being, and almost thought that she must have been mistaken. But she made one more trial, and sniffed the breeze towards the westward. Ah! then the scent of a man came plainly to her, so she called aloud, "I know from the smell wafted here to me by the breeze that somebody is close to me." Maui murmured assent. Thus the old woman knew that he was a descendant of hers, and her stomach, which was quite large and distended, immediately began to shrink and contract itself again. If the smell of Maui had not been carried to her by the western breeze, undoubtedly she would have eaten him up.

When the stomach of Muri-ranga-whenua had quietly sunk down to its usual size, her voice was again heard saying, "Art thou Maui?" He answered, "Even so."

Then she asked him, "Wherefore hast thou served thy old ancestress in this deceitful way?" And Maui answered, "I was anxious that thy jawbone, by which the great enchantments can be wrought, should be given to me."

She answered, "Take it, it has been reserved for thee." And Maui took it, and having done so returned to the place where he and his brothers dwelt.

### [SNARING THE SUN]

The young hero, Maui, had not been long at home with his brothers when he began to think that it was too soon after the rising of the sun that it became night again, and that the sun again sank down below the horizon, every day, every day. In the same manner the days appeared too short to him. So at last one day he said to his brothers, "Let us now catch the sun in a noose, so that we may compel him to move more slowly, in order that mankind may have long days to labour in to procure subsistence for themselves." They answered him, "Why, no man could approach it on account of its warmth, and the fierceness of its heat." The young hero said to them, "Have you not seen the multitude of things I have already achieved? Did not you see me change myself into the likeness of every bird of the forest? You and I equally had the aspect and appearance of men, yet I by my enchantments changed suddenly from the appearance of a man and became a bird. Continuing to change my form, I resembled this bird or that bird, one after the other, until I had by degrees transformed myself into every bird in the world, small or great. And did I not after all this again assume the form of a man?" This he did soon after he was born. It was after that he snared the sun. "Therefore, as for the feat, oh, my brothers, the changing myself into birds, I accomplished it by enchantments. And I will by the same means accomplish also this other thing which I have in my mind." When his brothers heard this, they consented to his persuasion to aid him in the conquest of the sun.

Then they began to spin and twist ropes to form a noose to catch the sun in. In doing this they discovered the mode of plaiting flax into stout square-shaped ropes and the manner of plaiting the flat ropes and of spinning round ropes. At last, they finished making all the ropes which they required. Then Maui took up his enchanted weapon, and he took his brothers with him. They carried their provisions, ropes, and other things with them in their hands. They traveled all night. As soon as day broke they halted in the desert, and hid themselves that they might not be seen by the sun. At night they renewed their journey. Before dawn they halted and hid themselves again. At length they got very far, very far, to the eastward, and came to the very edge of the place out of which the sun rises.

Then they set to work and built on each side of this place a long high wall of clay, with huts of boughs of trees at each end to hide themselves in. When these were finished, they made the loops of the noose. The brothers of Maui then lay in wait on one side of the place out of which the sun rises, and Maui himself lay in wait upon the other side.

The young hero held in his hand his enchanted weapon, the jawbone of his ancestress, of Muri-ranga-whenua. He said to his brothers, "Mind now, keep yourselves hid, and do not go showing yourselves foolishly to the sun. If you do, you will frighten him. Wait patiently until his head and forelegs have got well into the snare, then I will shout out; haul away as hard as you can on the ropes on both sides. Then I'll rush out and attack him. But do you keep your ropes tight for a good long time (while I attack him), until he is nearly dead, when we will let him go. Mind now, my brothers, do not let him move you to pity with his shrieks and screams."

At last the sun came rising up out of his place, like a fire spreading far and wide over the mountains and forests. He rises up. His head passes through the noose. It takes in more and more of his body, until his fore-paws pass through. Then are pulled tight the ropes. The monster began to struggle and roll himself about, whilst the snare jerked backwards and forwards as he struggled. Ah! Was not he held fast in the ropes of his enemies!

Then forth rushed that bold hero, Maui-tikitiki-o-Taranga, with his enchanted weapon. Alas! the sun screams aloud. He roars. Maui strikes him fiercely with many blows. They hold him for a long time. At last they let him go. And then, weak from wounds, the sun crept slowly along its course. Then was learnt by men the second name of the sun, for in its agony the sun screamed out, "Why am I thus smitten by you, oh man? Do you know what you are doing? Why should you wish to kill Tama-nui-te-Ra?" Thus was learnt his second name. At last they let him go. Oh, then, Tama-nui-te-Ra went very slowly and feebly on his course.

### [FISHING UP LAND]

Maui-taha and his brothers after this feat returned again to their own house and dwelt there, and dwelt there, and dwelt there. After a long time his brothers went out fishing, whilst Maui-tikitiki-o-Taranga stopped idly at home doing nothing, although indeed he had to listen to the sulky grumblings of his wives and children at his laziness in not catching fish for them. Then he called out to the women, "Never mind, oh, mothers, yourselves and your children need not fear. Have not I accomplished all things? And as for this little feat, this trifling work of getting food for you, do you think I cannot do that? Certainly, if I go and get a fish for you, it will be one so large that when I bring it to land you will not be able to eat it all, and the sun will shine on it and make it putrid before it is consumed." Then Maui snooded his enchanted fishhook, which was pointed with part of the jawbone of Muri-ranga-whenua. When he had finished this, he twisted a stout fishline to his hook.

His brothers in the meantime had arranged amongst themselves to make fast the lashings of the top sides of their canoe, in order to go out for a good day's fishing. When all was made ready they launched their canoe. As soon as it was afloat Maui jumped into it. His brothers, who were afraid of his enchantments, cried out, "Come, get out again. We will not let you go with us. Your magical arts will get us into some difficulty." So he was compelled to remain ashore whilst his brothers paddled off. When they reached the fishing ground they lay upon their paddles and fished, and after a good day's sport returned ashore.

As soon as it was dark night Maui went down to the shore, got into his brother's canoe, and hid himself under the bottom boards of it. The next forenoon his brothers came down to the shore to go fishing again. They had their canoe launched, and paddled out to sea without ever seeing Maui, who lay hid in the hollow of the canoe under the bottom boards. When they got well out to sea Maui crept out of his hiding place. As soon as his brothers saw him, they said, "We had better get back to the shore again as

fast as we can, since this fellow is on board." But Maui, by his enchantments, stretched out the sea so that the shore instantly became very distant from them. By the time they could turn themselves round to look for it, it was out of view. Maui now said to them, "You had better let me go on with you. I shall at least be useful to bail the water out of our canoe." To this they consented. They paddled on again, and speedily arrived at the fishing ground where they used to fish upon former occasions. As soon as they got there his brothers said, "Let us drop the anchor and fish here." He answered, "Oh, no, don't. We had much better paddle a long distance further out." Upon this they paddle on, and paddle as far as the furthest fishing ground, a long way out to sea. His brothers at last say, "Come now, we must drop anchor and fish here." He replies again, "Oh, the fish here are very fine, I suppose, but we had better pull right out to sea, and drop anchor there. If we go out to the place where I wish the anchor to be let go, before you can get a hook to the bottom a fish will come following it back to the top of the water. You won't have to stop there a longer time than you can wink your eye in, and our canoe will come back to shore full of fish." As soon as they hear this they paddle away—they paddle away until they reach a very long distance off. His brothers then say, "We are now far enough." He replies, "No, no, let us go out of sight of land, and when we have quite lost sight of it, then let the anchor be dropped. But let it be very far off, quite out in the open sea."

At last they reach the open sea, and his brothers begin to fish. Lo, lo, they had hardly let their hooks down to the bottom, when they each pulled up a fish into the canoe. Twice only they let down their lines, when behold the canoe was filled up with the number of fish they had caught. Then his brothers said, "Oh, brother, let us all return now." He answered them, "Stay a little. Let me also throw my hook into the sea." And his brothers replied, "Where did you get a hook?" He answered, "Oh, never mind, I have a hook of my own." His brothers replied again, "Make haste and throw it then." As he pulled it out from under his garments the light flashed from the beautiful mother-of-pearl [*paua*, *halotis*, according to White, 306, vol 2, p. 101; the ancient Maori did not have pearl shell] shell in the hollow of the hook. His brothers saw that the hook was carved and ornamented with tufts of hair pulled from the tail of a dog. It looked exceedingly beautiful. Maui then asked his brothers to give him a little bait to bait his hook. But they replied, "We will not give you any of our bait." So he doubled his fist and struck his nose violently, and the blood gushed out, and he smeared his hook with his own blood for bait. Then he cast it into the sea, and it sank down, till it reached to the small carved figure on the roof of a house at the bottom of the sea. Passing by the figure, it descended along the outside carved rafters of the roof, and fell in at the doorway of the house, and the hook of Maui-tikitiki-o-Taranga caught first in the sill of the doorway.

Then, feeling something on his hook, he began to haul in his line. Ah! Ah! there ascended on his hook the house of that old fellow Tonga-nui [grandson of Tangaroa, god of the ocean]. It came up, up. And as it rose high, oh, dear! how his hook was strained with its great weight. And then there came gurgling up foam and bubbles from the earth, as of an island emerging from the water. His brothers opened their mouths and cried aloud.

Maui all this time continued to chant forth his incantations amidst the murmurings and wailings of his brothers, who were weeping and lamenting, and saying, "See now how he has brought us out into the open sea that we may be upset in it and devoured by the fish." Then he raised aloud his voice, and repeated the incantation called *Hiki*,<sup>6</sup> which makes heavy weights light, in order that the fish he had caught might come up easily. He chanted an incantation beginning thus,

Wherefore, then, oh! Tonganui,

Dost thou hold fast so obstinately below there?

<sup>6</sup> Best (30, p. 1120) describes a *hiki* as a charm to expel, or banish, a people from their home or lands.

White (306, vol. 2, p. 102) translates the entire chant, as follows:

Why, O Tonga-nui!  
Art thou sulkily  
Biting below there?  
On thee has come  
The power of Ranga-whenua<sup>7</sup>  
To bind thee together.  
The foam and noise,  
Gathered into small space,  
Draw to the surface.  
Shout my triumph  
Over the grandson  
Of Tanga-roa-meha.

To continue:

When he [Maui] had finished his incantation, there floated up, hanging to his line, the fish of Maui, a portion of the earth, of Papa-tu-a-nuku [Papa is divided into 10 divisions]. Alas! alas! their canoe lay aground.

Maui then left his brothers with their canoe, and returned to the village. But before he went he said to them, "After I am gone, be courageous and patient. Do not eat food until I return. And do not let our fish be cut up, but rather leave it until I have carried an offering to the gods from this great haul of fish, and until I have found a priest, that fitting prayers and sacrifices may be offered to the god, and the necessary rites be completed in order. We shall thus all be purified. I will then return, and we can cut up this fish in safety. It shall be fairly portioned out to this one, and to that one, and to that other. And on my arrival you shall each have your due share of it, and return to your homes joyfully. What we leave behind us will keep good. That which we take away with us, returning, will be good too."

Maui had hardly gone, after saying all this to them, than his brothers trampled under their feet the words they had heard him speak. They began at once to eat food, and to cut up the fish. When they did this, Maui had not yet arrived at the sacred place, in the presence of the god. Had he previously reached the sacred place, the heart of the deity would have been appeased with the offering of a portion of the fish which had been caught by his disciples, and all the male and female deities would have partaken of their portions of the sacrifice. Alas! alas! those foolish thoughtless brothers of his cut up the fish. Behold the gods turned with wrath upon them, on account of the fish which they had thus cut up without having made a fitting sacrifice. Then, indeed, the fish began to toss about his head from side to side, and to lash his tail, and the fins upon his back, and his lower jaw. Ah! ah! well done, Tangaroa! It springs about on shore as briskly as if it was in the water.

That is the reason that this island is now so rough and uneven—that here stands a mountain—that there lies a plain—that here descends a vale—that there rises a cliff. If the brothers of Maui had not acted so deceitfully, the huge fish would have lain flat and smooth, and would have remained as a model for the rest of the earth, for the present generation of men. This, which has just been recounted, is the second evil which took place after the separation of Heaven from Earth.

Thus was dry land fished up by Maui after it had been hidden under the ocean by Rangi and Tawhiri-ma-tea. It was with an enchanted fishhook that he drew it up, which was pointed with a bit of jawbone of his ancestress Muri-ranga-whenua. In the district of Heretaunga they still show the fishhook of Maui, which became a cape stretching far out into the sea, and now forms the southern extremity of Hawke's Bay.

<sup>7</sup> Ranga-whenua is Muri-ranga-whenua.

## [THEFT OF FIRE]

The hero now thought that he would extinguish and destroy the fires of his ancestress, of Mahuika. So he got up in the night, and put out the fires left in the cooking houses of each family in the village. Then, quite early in the morning, he called aloud to his servants, "I hunger, I hunger. Quick! Cook some food for me." One of the servants thereupon ran as fast as he could to make up the fire to cook some food, but the fire was out. As he ran round from house to house in the village to get a light, he found every fire quite out. He could nowhere get a light.

When Maui's mother heard this, she called out to the servants, and said, "Some of you repair to my great ancestress Mahuika. Tell her that fire has been lost upon earth, and ask her to give some to the world again." But the slaves were alarmed, and refused to obey the commands which their masters, the sacred old people, gave them. And they persisted in refusing to go, notwithstanding the old people repeatedly ordered them to do so.

At last Maui said to his mother, "Well then I will fetch down fire for the world. But which is the path by which I must go?" His parents, who knew the country well, said to him, "If you will go, follow that broad path that lies just before you there. You will at last reach the dwelling of an ancestress of yours. If she asks you who you are, you had better call out your name to her, then she will know you are a descendant of hers. But be cautious. Do not play any tricks with her. We have heard that your deeds are greater than the deeds of men, and that you are fond of deceiving and injuring others. Perhaps you even now intend in many ways to deceive this old ancestress of yours, but pray be cautious not to do so."

But Maui said, "No, I only want to bring fire away for men, that is all, and I'll return again as soon as I can do that!" Then he went, and reached the abode of the goddess of fire. He was so filled with wonder at what he saw, that for a long time he could say nothing. At last he said, "Oh, lady, would you rise up? Where is your fire kept? I have come to beg some from you."

Then the aged lady rose right up, and said, "Au-e! who can this mortal be?" He answered, "It's I." "Where do you come from?" said she. He answered, "I belong to this country." "You are not from this country," said she. "Your appearance is not like that of the inhabitants of this country. Do you come from the northeast?" He replied, "No." "Do you come from the southeast?" He replied, "No." "Are you from the south?" He replied, "No." "Are you from the westward?" He answered, "No." "Come you then from the direction of the wind which blows right upon me?" And he said, "I do." "Oh, then," cried she, "you are my grandchild. What do you want here?" He answered, "I am come to beg fire from you." She replied, "Welcome, welcome! Here then is fire for you."

Then the aged woman pulled out her nail. And as she pulled it out, fire flowed from it. She gave it to him. When Maui saw she had drawn out her nail to produce fire for him, he thought it a most wonderful thing! Then he went a short distance off. When not very far from her, he put the fire out, quite out. Returning to her again, said, "The light you gave me has gone out, give me another." Then she caught hold of another nail, and pulled it out as a light for him. He left her, and went a little on one side, and put that light out also. Then he went back to her again, and said, "Oh, lady, give me, I pray you another light, for the last one has also gone out." Thus he went on and on, until she had pulled out all the nails of the fingers of one of her hands. Then she began with the other hand, until she had pulled all the finger-nails out of that hand too. And then she commenced upon the nails of her feet, and pulled them also out in the same manner, except the nail of one of her big toes. Then the aged woman said to herself at last, "This fellow is surely playing tricks with me."

Then out she pulled the one toe-nail that she had left. It, too, became fire. As she dashed it down on the ground the whole place caught fire. She cried out to Maui. "There, you have it all now!" And Maui ran off, and made a rush to escape, but the fire followed hard after him, close behind him. He changed himself into a fleet-winged

eagle [*kahu*, more correctly, a hawk] and flew with rapid flight, but the fire pursued, and almost caught him as he flew. Then the eagle dashed down into a pool of water. But when he got into the water he found that almost boiling too. The forests just then also caught fire, so that it could not alight anywhere. And the earth and the sea both caught fire too. Maui was very near perishing in the flames.

Then he called on his ancestors Tawhiri-ma-tea and Whatitiri-matakataka [god of thunder] to send down an abundant supply of water. He cried aloud, "Oh, let water be given to me to quench this fire which pursues after me." And lo! then appeared squalls and gales, and Tawhiri-ma-tea sent heavy lasting rain, and the fire was quenched. Before Mahuika could reach her place of shelter, she almost perished in the rain. Her shrieks and screams became as loud as those of Maui had been, when he was scorched by the pursuing fire. Thus Maui ended this proceeding. In this manner was extinguished the fire of Mahuika, the goddess of fire. But before it was all lost, she saved a few sparks, which she threw, to protect them, into the Kaikomako [*Pennantia corymbosa*] and a few other trees, where they are still cherished. Hence, men yet use portions of the wood of these trees for fire when they require a light.

Then he returned to the village. His mother and father said to him, "You heard when we warned you before you went. Nevertheless you played tricks with your ancestress. It served you right that you got into such trouble." The young fellow answered his parents, "Oh, what do I care for that! Do you think that my perverse proceedings are put a stop to by this? Certainly not. I intend to go on in the same way for ever, ever, ever." His father answered him, "Yes, then, you may just please yourself about living or dying. If you will only attend to me you will save your life. If you do not attend to what I say, it will be worse for you, that is all." As soon as this conversation was ended, off the young fellow went to find some more companions for his other scrapes.

### [ORIGIN OF DOGS]

Maui had a young sister named Hinauri, who was exceedingly beautiful. She married Irawaru. One day Maui and his brother-in-law went down to the sea to fish. Maui caught not a single fish with his hook, which had no barb to it. But as long as they went on fishing, Maui observed that Irawaru continued catching plenty of fish. So he thought to himself, "Well, how is this? How does that fellow catch so many whilst I cannot catch one?" Just as he thought this, Irawaru had another bite, and up he pulled his line in haste. But it had got entangled with that of Maui. Maui, thinking he felt a fish pulling at his own line, drew it in quite delighted. But when he had hauled up a good deal of it, there were himself and his brother-in-law pulling in their lines in different directions, one drawing the line towards the bow of the canoe, and the other towards the stern.

Maui, who was already provoked at his own ill luck, and the good luck of his brother-in-law, now called out quite angrily, "Come, let go my line. The fish is on my hook." But Irawaru answered, "No, it is not. It is on mine."

Maui again called out very angrily, "Come, let go, I tell you it is on mine."

Irawaru then slacked out his line, and let Maui pull in the fish. As soon as he had hauled it into the canoe, Maui found that Irawaru was right, and that the fish was on his hook. When Irawaru saw this too, he called out, "Come now, let go my line and hook." Maui answered him, "Cannot you wait a minute, until I take the hook out of the fish?"

As soon as he got the hook out of the fish's mouth, he looked at it, and saw that it was barbed. Maui, who was already exceedingly wroth with his brother-in-law, on observing this, thought he had no chance with his barbless hook of catching as many fish as his brother-in-law, so he said, "Don't you think we had better go on shore now?" Irawaru answered, "Very well, let us return to the land again."

So they paddled back towards the land. When they reached it and were going to haul the canoe up on to the beach, Maui said to his brother-in-law, "Do you get under

the outrigger of the canoe and lift it up with your back." So he got under it. As soon as he had done so, Maui jumped on it, and pressed the whole weight of the canoe down upon him, and almost killed Irawaru.

When he was on the point of death, Maui trampled on his body, and lengthened his backbone. By his enchantments he drew it out into the form of a tail and he transformed Irawaru into a dog and fed him with dung.

As soon as he had done this, Maui went back to his place of abode, just as if nothing unusual had taken place. His young sister, who was watching for the return of her husband, as soon as she saw Maui coming, ran to him and asked him, saying, "Maui, where is your brother-in-law?" Maui answered, "I left him at the canoe."

But his young sister said, "Why did not you both come home together?" Maui answered, "He desired me to tell you that he wanted you to go down to the beach to help him carry up the fish. You had better go, therefore. And if you do not see him, just call out. And if he does not answer you, why then call out to him in this way, 'Mo-i, mo-i, mo-i.'"

Upon learning this, Hinauri hurried down to the beach as fast as she could. Not seeing her husband, she went about calling out his name, but no answer was made to her. She then called out as Maui had told her, "Mo-i, mo-i, mo-i, mo-i." Then Irawaru who was running about in the bushes near there, in the form of a dog, at once recognized the voice of Hinauri, and answered, "Ao! ao! ao! ao-ao-o!" howling like a dog. And he followed her back to the village, frisking along and wagging his tail with pleasure at seeing her. From him sprang all dogs, so that he is regarded as their progenitor. All New Zealanders still call their dogs to them by the words, "Mo-i, mo-i, mo-i."

Hinauri, when she saw that her husband had been changed into a dog, was quite distracted with grief, and wept bitterly the whole way as she went back to the village. As soon as ever she got into her house, she caught up an enchanted girdle which she had, and ran back to the sea with it, determined to destroy herself, by throwing herself into the ocean, so that the dragons and monsters of the deep might devour her. When she reached the seashore she sat down upon the rocks at the ocean's very edge. As she sat there she first lamented aloud her cruel fate, and repeated an incantation, and then threw herself into the sea. The tide swept her off from the shore.

#### [MAUI AND HINE-NUI-TE-PO]

Maui now felt it necessary to leave the village where Irawaru had lived, so he returned to his parents. When he had been with them for some time, his father said to him one day, "Oh, my son, I have heard from your mother and others that you are very valiant, and that you have succeeded in all feats that you have undertaken in your own country, whether they were small or great. But now that you have arrived in your father's country, you will, perhaps, at last be overcome."

Then Maui asked him, "What do you mean? What things are there that I can be vanquished by?" His father answered him, "By your great ancestress, by Hine-nui-te-po, who, if you look, you may see flashing, and, as it were, opening and shutting there, where the horizon meets the sky." Maui replied, "Lay aside such idle thoughts, and let us both fearlessly seek whether men are to die or live for ever." His father said, "My child, there has been an ill omen for us. When I was baptizing you, I omitted a portion of the fitting prayers, and that I know will be the cause of your perishing."

Then Maui asked his father, "What is my ancestress Hine-nui-te-po like?" He answered, "What you see yonder shining so brightly red are her eyes. And her teeth are as sharp and hard as pieces of volcanic glass. Her body is like that of a man. And as for the pupils of her eyes, they are jasper. And her hair is like the tangles of long seaweed. And her mouth is like that of a barracouta." Then his son answered him, "Do you think her strength is as great as that of Tama-nui-te-Ra, who consumes man, and the earth, and the very waters, by the fierceness of his heat? Was not the world

formerly saved alive by the speed with which he traveled? If he had then, in the days of his full strength and power, gone as slowly as he does now, not a remnant of mankind would have been left living upon the earth, nor, indeed, would anything else have survived. But I laid hold of Tama-nui-te-Ra, and now he goes slowly, for I smote him again and again, so that he is now feeble, and long in traveling his course, and he now gives but very little heat, having been weakened by the blows of my enchanted weapon. I then, too, split him open in many places, and from the wounds so made, many rays now issue forth and spread in all directions. So, also, I found the sea much larger than the earth, but by the power of the last born of your children, part of the earth was drawn up again, and dry land came forth." And his father answered him, "That is all very true, O, my last born, and the strength of my old age. Well, then, be bold, go and visit your great ancestress, who flashes so fiercely there, where the edge of the horizon meets the sky."

Hardly was this conversation concluded with his father, when the young hero went forth to look for companions to accompany him upon this enterprise. There came to him for companions, the small robin, and the large robin, and the thrush, and the yellow-hammer, and every kind of little bird, and the water-wagtail. These all assembled together, and they all started with Maui in the evening, and arrived at the dwelling of Hine-nui-te-po, and found her fast asleep.

Then Maui addressed them all, "My little friends, now if you see me creep into this old chieftainess, do not laugh at what you see. Nay, nay, do not, I pray you, but when I have got altogether inside her, and just as I am coming out of her mouth, then you may shout with laughter if you please." His little friends, who were frightened at what they saw, replied, "Oh, sir, you will certainly be killed." He answered them, "If you burst out laughing at me as soon as I get inside her, you will wake her up, and she will certainly kill me at once, but if you do not laugh until I am quite inside her, and am on the point of coming out of her mouth, I shall live, and Hine-nui-te-po will die." His little friends answered, "Go on then, brave sir, but pray take good care of yourself."

Then the young hero started off. He twisted the strings of his weapon tight round his wrist, and went into the house. He stripped off his clothes, and the skin on his hips looked mottled and beautiful as that of a mackerel, from the tattoo marks, cut on it with the chisel of Uetonga [grandson of Ru, god of earthquakes; Uetonga taught tattooing to Mataora who taught it to man (White, 306, vol. 2, p. 4)], and he entered the old chieftainess.

The little birds now screwed up their tiny cheeks, trying to suppress their laughter. At last the little Tiwakawaka could no longer keep it in, and laughed out loud, with its merry cheerful note. This woke the old woman up. She opened her eyes, started up, and killed Maui.

Thus died this Maui we have spoken of. But before he died he had children, and sons were born to him. Some of his descendants yet live in Hawaiki, some in Aotearoa (or in these islands). The greater part of his descendants remained in Hawaiki, but a few of them came here to Aotearoa. According to the traditions of the Maori, this was the cause of the introduction of death into the world (Hine-nui-te-po was the goddess of death. If Maui had passed safely through her, then no more human beings would have died, but death itself would have been destroyed.) We express it by saying, "The water-wagtail laughing at Maui-tiki-tiki-o-Taranga made Hine-nui-te-po squeeze him to death." And we have this proverb, "Men make heirs, but death carries them off."

Thus end the deeds of the son of Makeatutara and of Taranga, and the deeds of the sons of Rangi-nui, and Papa-tu-a-nuku. This is the narrative about the generation of the ancestors of the inhabitants of New Zealand. And therefore, we, the people of that country, preserve closely these traditions of old times, as a thing to be taught to the generations that come after us, so we repeat them in our prayers, and whenever we relate the deeds of the ancestors from whom each family is descended, and upon other similar occasions.

In Polynesian literature, the above version holds a place comparable to that of Malory's "Morte d'Arthur" in English literature. Sir George Grey is the Caxton to whom we owe gratitude for preserving this masterpiece of primitive literature which he translated fairly literally and felicitously from the native texts he assembled while Governor of New Zealand. Unfortunately, neither the early nor the later editions of his book, "Polynesian mythology," in which the Maui cycle appears, are readily accessible, at least not in the United States, where the work is found in a few university libraries.

#### THE ARAWA BIOGRAPHER OF MAUI

Whoever the narrator of this cycle may have been, he is, without question, a maverick in Arawa literary and scholarly circles. In several respects, he ignores and surmounts the limitations of the native, traditional style, thereby giving to non-Polynesian readers an account of the heroic Maui's biography which leads them toward a more vivid and appreciative understanding of Polynesians and their native literature. He apparently was sufficiently under European influence to acquire experience with an alien literary style. He also felt free enough of the bondage of old formal modes of Maori composition to retell the story of Maui's life by creatively applying both old and new literary devices.

His biography of Maui is less primitive in its style and construction than any other version of Maui's career. He departs in two fundamental ways from traditional style. First, he abandons the usual strict adherence to narrating the hero's adventures in simple chronological order from birth to death. Instead of following the natural and uncomplicated sequence of adventures, he inverts, subordinates, and elaborates certain incidents to create a novelette of character and action. The plot progresses inevitably, under the author-raconteur's strict control, to a tragic climax, anticipated from early events in the story. The development toward an inevitable and tragic denouement creates a feeling of suspense in the listener and reader, who fears, even while he laughs at the comedy of Maui teasing the gods, that the hero is doomed.

The artist also departs from the old literary style by inserting his own personality into the story. He interprets moods and thoughts of the characters to the listener and reader instead of merely telling objectively what happened to the hero and what he did. In the more primitive style of oral narration, the emphasis of the plot is on action. Plainer storytellers do not linger over emotions or slow up the plot with adjectives or descriptions unessential for understanding the events. The audience has heard the story many times before. The characters are familiar. And the response of listeners to a story or character is part of the traditional relationship between storyteller and listener

The traditional narrator, however, is by no means left without an opportunity to express his personal emotion. His gestures and tone of voice, both of which are lost to a reader, convey moods. So do the circumstances under which the story is told.

The Arawa author-raconteur goes far beyond the bounds of expression which the more primitive narrator permits himself and is permitted. His account of Maui has an intense lyric element. It reveals deliberate efforts to determine and control the response of the reader to the story. Possibly he feels himself in the unique and favorable position of interpreting the personality and deeds of Maui-of-a-thousand-tricks to Europeans ignorant of tribal life and unsteeped in Maui. The author-raconteur seizes the opportunity given by the sponsorship of the Governor-General to ignore customary restraints and style in order to make clear and explicit to foreigners what every intelligent Maori has, from birth, known about a beloved hero. His version crystallizes feelings and thoughts about the hero and his adventures which formerly had been more diffuse, various, and less organized.

Storytellers following the older narrative style are more inclined than the Arawa artist to depend upon verbal shorthand: conventionalized incidents and phrases. These stock details are so familiar to the audience that it immediately knows what emotions or steps in the hero's progress they symbolize. It is an impersonal narration contrasting with the independence of the Arawa author-raconteur in his personal reinterpretation of traditional stereotypes. Nor does the narrator who follows the more primitive style repeat conventionalized incidents without ever changing them. That would be monotonous and boring. Though these incidents and phrases are the backbone of tribal stock-in-trade of mythology, he touches them up and alters them to suit the story and give it individuality.

Formal incidents and chants belonging with a story do more than further the plot and give literary satisfaction. They also serve as a kind of mental rest point. Their very familiarity permits the mind to slip over them, noting but only half hearing, while it ponders previous events in the plot or looks forward. It can quickly catch up as familiar words draw to a close and the narrator launches forth on less stereotyped material. A poor narrator uses too many mental rest points, and the attention of the audience wanders. The story lacks sparkle and freshness. By varying conventionalized incidents to make them vital to the progress of the plot, the good narrator keeps his audience alert and with him. They like to recognize familiar phrases but they also appreciate his ability to handle trite incidents and ideas in a new way. An occasional strict adherence to the standardized phraseology then becomes a real rest point, a happy pause of rhythmical words to let listener and storyteller relax.

An example of a conventionalized or stereotyped incident from the Arawa Maui cycle is the thrice-repeated scene in which Maui is asked from which direction he comes. First, his own mother, doubting that she really recognizes him in his disguise as a pigeon, goes through the old question-and-answer routine about the directions. Later, when he goes to visit Muri-ranga-whenua to get her jawbone as a weapon, the same scene is used, but with variations. The old cannibalistic grandmother sniffs first to one direction and then to another instead of asking questions. The author-raconteur has omitted a detail which every Polynesian and every reader of Polynesian literature knows, namely, that the man-eating grandmother is blind. The helpful, cannibal grandmother herself is a stock, stereotyped character who roosts on the family tree of many another hero. She usually questions the hero about the directions instead of sniffing like Muri-ranga-whenua. The third time that the Arawa narrator uses this stereotyped incident about directions is in Maui's adventure with the fire goddess.

Polynesian etiquette does not permit one to ask a stranger who he is. He may be someone so distinguished and famous that everyone ought to know him. It is embarrassing to the questioner and offensive to the person questioned if there is some doubt and one does not probe delicately. Asking the direction from which the visitor comes is one way to dodge an embarrassing situation. Another way is for visitor and host to recite their genealogies immediately upon meeting. Thereby two egos are satisfied, and if the genealogies go back far enough relatives are sure to be found. The Arawa narrator uses the incident about the directions when Maui meets someone who does not know him. He works it into the plot to give a rhythmical, smiling quality to the narration and even a little pleasurable suspense before the relationship of the hero and the demon is determined.

Other incidents in the Arawa version of the Maui cycle also appear time after time in other hero cycles throughout Polynesia and even in Micronesia and Melanesia. But the Arawa narrator tells them in such a way as to make them seem original with him or with the total myth-complex of the Maui cycle. They seem like pallid imitations in other hero cycles. Actually they are probably older than any of the heroes, including Maui, about whom they are told. Stuffing things into the wall to close out the light to trap someone who must leave by daylight is a well-known incident. So is the abandonment of the baby. Infanticide was common in old Polynesia and occasionally an exposed child was rescued. The hero originating from an abortion or blood clot is also common in the literature. The business of tossing berries or fruit at one's host as if it were a jokester's notion of a calling card is frequent in myths. A romantic hero, like Maui's father in the Tuamotus, hiding in a tree tosses flower petals into a pool where pretty girls are swimming. They

coily ask, "Is it a god or a man?" This is a purely rhetorical question, since the precise answer is not going to alter the rest of the plot in the least.

A literary artist like the Arawa storyteller does not develop suddenly without practice and experimentation. Heads must have been shaken many times in his village over his versions of the old mythology. Under the stimulus of the Europeans and their culture, this literary renegade does not hesitate to let his imagination play over ancient myths. He puts into words what everyone has felt about them but has not always said directly. One wonders, too, if he did not have access to Grey's collections of Maui myths and cycles from other parts of New Zealand; and if, from differing tribal interpretations of the hero, he did not receive inspiration to produce his well-organized plot and to develop his interpretation of Maui's character as the merry-hearted, willful flouter of customs and conventions.

Before going on to discuss how the Arawa author-raconteur imposed his personality on the ancient cycle, another Maori version of the hero's career is presented below in a very brief abstract to illustrate the more usual chronological sequence of events in Maui's biography. Though less highly unified than the Arawa cycle, it includes a common exploit, absent\*from the Arawa cycle, of how Maui killed Tuna, a personified giant eel. It also has a stronger version than the Arawa of the myth about Maui transforming his brother-in-law into a dog. Other local differences in the names of the parents and other characters, sequence of events, and their content are obvious. The cycle was obtained by Wohlers from Murihiku-speaking informants in South Island, New Zealand (310, vol. 7). It may have been accessible to Grey's staff, for Wohlers sent some of his material to the Governor-General. The abstract follows:

The children of Hina and Raka or Taraka [South Island form of Ranga or Taranga, which is here the name of Maui's father] were Maui-mua, Maui-roto, Maui-waho, Maui-taha, and Maui-potiki. Potiki [an epithet for Maui-tikitiki signifying that he was the youngest Maui, the baby] was born a shapeless lump which Hina wrapped in a rag and cast into a bush. Mu and Weka [two personified wingless birds] found and reared the outcast with the aid of several personified sky phenomena. After mischievously destroying Maru-te-whare-aitu's fields and killing him, Maui went to the earth.

There he joined his brothers in a game of darts. He threw one so hard at the house that a board fell down. When Hina ran out to scold the boys, they pointed to Maui as the guilty child. He told Hina the story of his birth and she recognized him as truly her youngest son. When Raka came home that night, Hina told him the story Maui had told her.

Each day at dawn Raka disappeared from the house. To delay him, Maui hid his father's loincloth. As the father hunted for it, Maui woke up and later saw Raka pull up a house post and disappear into the hole.

That day Maui tied the loincloth about his neck, and shaped and colored himself to look like a pigeon. With this disguise he caught many pigeons by hand; his brothers, however, speared only a few and tore the flesh of the birds. When Raka came home that night, Hina bragged to him about Maui's skill.

Later, taking bird form, Maui flew to Raka's underworld gardens, made himself known to his father, and the two wept in greeting. Raka cried without meaning, but Maui cried poetically in verses.

Next he got fire from the fingers and toes of his maternal grandmother, Mahuika; starved his grandfather, Muri-raka-whenua, to death to get his jawbone for a fishhook; then fished up land with people and houses on it, making such a commotion as he drew in his prize that his mother heard him on shore and said, "There that boy is at his mischief again." He killed his father-in-law, Tuna; snared the sun; turned his sister's husband, Irawaru, into a dog for being greedy; and finally tried to overcome the goddess of death but failed and died.

The contrast between the Arawa narrator's treatment of the plot and that of the more primitive artist is like that between an Oriental rug and a bolt of carpeting. I speak here of handcrafted goods which lack the perfection of machine execution but reflect instead the spirit and life of the weaver in its subtle variations and imperfections in design, color, and technique. The handcrafted goods are never monotonous, whatever the quality of the execution. They are personal and even autobiographical if we could only read through the threads into the weaver's heart. Through her work, the weaver says to those who gaze upon her rug, "Here I didn't figure correctly, so this band is wider than the old weavers approve. There the dye did not turn out right, but I went too late to gather the plants because the baby was sick. See how even it is there. I felt possessed and wove steadily and firmly until I got to this part."

Each version of a cycle similarly mirrors an individual, who, though following the pattern of those among whom he lives, leaves an imprint of himself, which sometimes can be defined after comparison of many versions of the same ancient pattern. An occasional weaver of myths feels emancipated from judgments and standards of old spinners of tales. He makes as cataclysmic a change in design as if he were working with thread and had shifted from making carpeting to a four-square rug.

When a bolt of carpeting is unrolled, it can be seen that the nature of its major elements of design is limited. Once a yard or two has been unfurled, what the rest of the design will be is known, though each yard will not be exactly identical because of the individual nature of the weaver. The design is usually in stripes or bands within which various minor design elements are woven. These bands or stripes are like the hero's adventures chronologically unreeled to us by the storyteller. In Polynesia, the reel may be almost endlessly long, for the narrator tells not only the first hero's adventures but those of his grandson, great-grandson, and great-great-grandson.

In the four-square rug, the entire area of the material is treated as a single design unit in which occur related, integral sub-units which help to build up the major theme. The weaver has an entire complex design in mind before she begins. She must know when she starts what she will do after she has

finished the first border and how to space the inner design to allow for a balancing border on the other sides and at the end.

The South Island version of the Maui cycle is like the bolt of carpeting in unrolling one, unaccented adventure after another. The Arawa version is like the Oriental rug. The Arawa author had to plan to unify his design. However, it must be remembered that only an abstract of the South Island cycle was given. In its complete form, each adventure is elaborated with conversation, action, and explanatory details. It displays good command of narrative technique within the strict pattern of conventional narration. But unlike the Arawa, the narrator is content with only the most obvious means of obtaining structural unity among myths forming the cycle. He simply ties adventures together by the biographical thread of describing the hero's career from birth to death. However colorful, well-executed and satisfying the unrolling of his narrative pattern may be, the Arawa cycle is more fascinating because of its revolutionary plot structure.

The Arawa cycle, unlike that from South Island, does not begin with the natural sequence of events: the genealogy of Maui, his mother's abandonment, and his return to his parents. Instead the author-raconteur inverts and telescopes events to point toward the episode in which Maui's father makes the error in the baptismal chant that will cause Maui's career to end in tragedy.

The cycle starts with Maui already having returned to his family. He is discussing with his brothers the question of where his mother disappears so mysteriously each day. He tells them to wait and see, that he will learn his mother's secret. Then the raconteur describes an early event, namely, Maui's reunion with his mother and brothers in the village assembly hall where he has established his identity by telling in detail an even earlier event, that of his birth and upbringing. After he has been affectionately welcomed by his mother, much to the jealousy of his brothers, Maui notices that his mother disappears at dawn each day. He begins to spy on her. At this point the narrator has succeeded in making a complete circle of events. Now he is back to the scene with which he started the cycle, the argument between Maui and his brothers over his mother's strange disappearance.

The normal sequence of events narrated thus far is as follows: (1) the origin and abandonment of Maui with his rescue by the gods; (2) his return home and his acceptance by his mother; and (3) his investigation of his mother's disappearance each day. The Arawa narrator, however, starts with event 3, swings back to 2, then to 1, and finally around again to finish off 3 before continuing the story.

After this inversion of events, the plot follows a basically chronological sequence. Flashbacks to previous occurrences, as when the mother tells the father about this unexpected child of theirs, are customary in Polynesian

narration and not an innovation by the Arawa narrator. The South Island version uses the same literary device.

After Maui and his brothers have stopped quarreling about the mother's daily desertion of them, the storyteller continues the plot by having Maui actually go to the underworld in search of her. There he meets his father. The stage is thus set for the key incident in the reconstructed plot: the father's unsatisfactory performance of rituals for his newly discovered son. The narrator has worked toward this point by concentrating emphasis, through the inverted order of incidents, on the mother's disappearance and Maui's following her and finding his father with her.

A significant detail showing that the narrator planned the climax of his plot early, is the mother's prophecy that Maui will destroy the goddess of death and make mankind immortal. When he mysteriously appears in the underworld and the mother recognizes him as her newly returned son, she exclaims, "By you shall hereafter be climbed the threshold of the house of your great ancestor Hine-nui-te-po, and death shall thenceforth have no power over man."

At the moment, the reader-listener thinks only of how typical the remark is of her. It fits her character as the indulgent mother who has lost and found her youngest—and last—of many children and lavishes more affection on him than she ever has on her older sons. When she suspects that the underworld visitor might be Maui, she brags about the child she has found in the upper world. Deeds of this new visitor remind her of Maui; but until she is sure, she will not admit that Maui is inferior to the visitor. She says, "When I went to visit my children . . . what I saw then excelled what I see now. Just listen to me!" That the visitor is actually Maui compounds her joy and pride. Her extravagant remark about him as the savior of mankind who will bring immortality seems very natural in view of her doting worship of the boy.

But when the story is over and tears over Maui's death are wiped away, the reader-listener realizes that her remark prepared and encouraged a longing hope for Maui's success in overcoming death. One's common sense is temporarily suspended by knowledge that this is a myth and anything can happen. So one hopes that even a myth can give the vicarious satisfaction of seeing the impossible achieved, death vanquished, and Maui the vanquisher.

But the cunning author-raconteur has no sooner had the mother make her dramatic prediction and raise the reader-listener's hopes than he begins to tell about the ceremonies. He informs the listener that the father made mistakes which will cause the gods to punish Maui with death. Thus established, the conflict between the mother's prophecy of success and the father's expectation of failure continues up to the decisive climax. The narrator deliberately strives to maintain suspense. The audience is not permitted to forget

the cloud over the hero. During each adventure, it seems that this time Maui will surely fail to overcome such a powerful god and pay the price for his father's error. The father cannot forget what he has done, the narrator informs us, and thereby reminds the audience too. Maui, however, knows nothing of this. The secret belongs to the father, to the author-raconteur, and to the audience.

The hero successfully snares the sun, fishes up land, and steals fire. He comes through each struggle for power with a god of the pantheon with renewed energy, magical power, and self-confidence. He nearly dies, though, when the angry fire goddess sets fire to the world. Maui has to take the shape of a hawk, and he gets his feathers singed. It is a suitable time to remind the audience again that Maui lives on borrowed time. The narrator has the angry, shaken parents say to the boy, "I told you so." They scold him for his tricks on the gods. But Maui replies, "Oh, what do I care for that? Do you think that my perverse proceedings are put a stop to by this? Certainly not! I intend to go on in the same way forever, ever, ever." Then his provoked father retorts, "Yes, then you may just please yourself about living or dying. If you will only attend to me, you will save your life. If you do not attend to what I say, it will be the worse for you, that is all." What familiar remarks to any parent or child! So familiar indeed that no child ever gives a second thought to them. Maui does not. He does not ask, "What do you mean?" His response is, to use a slang phrase for lack of the Maori equivalent, "So what!" The audience has been suspicious of the father ever since his error. Now there is an even more decided ambivalence of feeling. The father should make Maui listen for the boy's own safety. What happens, if anything does, will be the father's fault. Suspicion grows that the father has never really liked Maui. Perhaps he doubts the mother's story of Maui's origin. Perhaps the boy's tricks make him dislike him even more.

The audience, however, begins to share some of the father's hostility toward the boy after the next adventure, in which Maui cruelly transforms his brother-in-law into a dog and drives his sister to suicide. There are many versions of this adventure in New Zealand. Grey himself quotes a second, different version. That in the Arawa cycle is confused and aberrant. Other variants reveal Irawaru as a glutton who eats the fishing bait or as a selfish lout who refuses to share his food with Maui. But in the Arawa variant, Maui is definitely portrayed as being in the wrong. He deliberately lies to get Irawaru's fish. This odd variant of the dog-transformation theme is very satisfactory, however, from the standpoint of the entire plot of the Arawa cycle. For one thing, the excitement is in a lower key than in preceding adventures. Tension is relaxed temporarily. As the climax of the cycle comes after the dog-transformation myth, the lower key permits one to recover from

earlier excitement. The last adventure then strikes full force after the slight lull in action.

This variant of the dog myth also fits into the cycle, because whatever affection, admiration, or respect Maui may have acquired from the audience earlier is now dissipated. It represents the lowest point in the rapport of the audience with Maui. His mistreatment of his sister and brother-in-law seems inexcusable. The emotions of the audience are wrung by the account of the sister's suicide. The author-raconteur can easily relieve tension by adding (as the audience well knows) that she is rescued and marries Tinirau, the handsomest man of his time; but he does not, since that is another story to be told later. Maui will appear less of a scoundrel perhaps if this is mentioned now, and the author-raconteur works for a particular effect on his audience. He as much as tells them so when he states that the people of the village turn against Maui after he turns his brother-in-law into a dog and drives his sister to suicide. The boy actually has to leave the earth and go to his father's home in the underworld until public opinion calms down. To tease gods who have great magical power is one thing. To turn upon a stupid man, one's brother-in-law, with a trumped up excuse to debase him and to injure one's sister is a very different thing. The audience can appreciate how the villagers feel. They feel much the same way.

Maui's father is disgusted enough now to tell Maui a little more directly that he had better reform. But he only succeeds in arousing Maui's curiosity by hitting upon his vulnerable point, his fear that someone might be smarter and stronger than he. His father hints that he might be overcome at last by someone he has still to meet. In view of the father's ambivalent feelings toward Maui, this incident has a sinister undercurrent despite its seemingly humdrum aspect of a father scolding a recalcitrant son. It looks as if the father has been waiting and hoping for the moment when he can casually direct Maui on the path to his first failure. The time has come when he can stand no more from Maui. He tells him that he will fail if he attacks a certain member of the pantheon. Maui rises to his father's bait this time and asks for an explanation.

His father then tells him of a horrible member of the pantheon who will cause Maui's failure. The audience cannot help being awed by the father's description of Hine-nui-te-po. Anxiety begins to rise again for Maui. But Maui tells his father, "Lay aside such idle thoughts [that I should fail], and let us both fearlessly seek whether men are to die or live forever." The father acknowledges the invitation but in the end does not go with the boy. He tells him of the ritual error, but that does not daunt Maui. And as for Hina's teeth being like volcanic glass, her mouth like a barracuda, and her hair like tangled seaweed, Maui scornfully boasts, "Do you think her strength is as

great as that of Tama-nui-te-Ra, the sun, or as great as that of Mahuika, the fire goddess . . ." He describes the terror of the beaten sun. He brags of conquering the fish which became New Zealand. He recapitulates his adventures. The father and the audience think that perhaps Maui will, after all, succeed in overcoming death because he has attacked, conquered, and humiliated some of the greatest departmental gods in the pantheon.

Rapport is quickly built up again to its former peak. The description of the hero's beautiful tattooing as he prepares to conquer the goddess of death clinches it. One warms further toward him at the hint of nervousness he shows in warning his feathered friends to be quiet and not awaken the goddess, and at the noble seriousness with which he approaches his greatest adventure. Maui at last reaches maturity and a moral splendor which will win him a place among mythological martyrs of the world. The precocious adolescent disappears. A man prepares to fight death. Say the grieving Maori about a dead relative, "Oh, if the little bird had not laughed, Maui would not have failed and you would still be alive."

The hopes of Maui's mother that her extraordinary son will make mankind immune to the attack of the goddess of death are not to be fulfilled. Like most biographers of Maui, the Arawa author-raconteur describes the hero as mischievous, cunning, deceitful, and boastful. These are admirable qualities in a Maori warrior. But over Maui, the narrator has hung the shadow of the final tragedy which is to result not from any of Maui's own cruel but entertaining tricks and attacks on the gods or from any fault of his own, but from his father's slip of the tongue. Using a giggling little bird as another unconscious, accidental instrument of betrayal, adds one more poignant touch to the tragedy of Maui.

The incident of the error, absent from all other versions of the cycle, is a stroke of creative genius on the part of the author-raconteur. Seeing its literary possibilities and using them effectively, he transforms the familiar adventures of a popular hero into a masterpiece of narrative art.

The narrator did not create the incident from nothing. Polynesians stress the magical power of words and names in an incantation. Omitting a single word in a chant can lead to dire results. By what process of association, the Arawa author-raconteur thought of using the broken spell in the Maui cycle can only be conjectured. In other Maori tribes and in the Society Islands, Rotuma, the Tuamotus, and Rarotonga, narrators of the Maui cycle also refer to feasts and rites and prayers held for Maui on his return to his parents. However, none uses the incident of the error in the chant or even mentions such an error.

The Arawa narrator may have taken the idea of having an error committed in the rites for Maui from a tradition (Smith, 242, p. 251) about Tuhoro,

the son of Tama-te-kapua. Tama-te-kapua was captain of the canoe named Arawa, from which comes the name of the tribe whose members trace their descent to Tama-te-kapua and his crew. Tama-te-kapua came in the Arawa canoe to New Zealand in the great fleet which left Hawaiki (Raiatea, Society Islands) in the midfourteenth century, A. D.

When Captain Tama-te-kapua died, his son, Tuhoro, performed the final rites over his father, after which he had to go through a ceremony of purification before returning to mundane affairs. But in reciting the purifying chant which invokes several names, including those of the Maui brothers, he disastrously forgot a name, that of his own father, and died as a result. The jealous gods never overlook a mistake in ceremonies directed toward them. Also the error not merely canceled the purificatory value of the chant but made it a boomerang to destroy Tuhoro.

According to Arawa tradition, Tuhoro recited correctly the following lines:

The great sacredness  
Of the great god,  
Of Tu-mata-uenga,  
Of Kahukahu at the step,  
Of Maui-mua,  
Of Maui-roto,  
Of Maui-pae,  
Of Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga.

Great sacredness,  
Enduring sacredness,  
I return thee  
To the tenth step of Hawaiki . . .

He also went correctly through the later lines:

Where are the sources,  
The origins,  
The chief priests,  
The mediums?

But he faltered in the final lines and left out the name of Tama-te-kapua in the second line:

By the priests,  
By Tama-te-kapua,  
By me,  
By this disciple,  
Shall this son emerge  
To the world of being,  
To the world of light.

The forgotten word ruined the purifying efficacy of the chant. Tuhoro, inheritor of his father's position as chief and priest, failed to return the sacred-

ness with which the funeral ceremonies had endowed him. He had not, as he thought, emerged to the world of being and light. Ignorant of his error, he went about his usual daily life. The gods, who noted the error disapprovingly, saw him perform everyday tasks though he was still in a state of spiritual quarantine. He died suddenly as the result of their vengeance and withdrawal of protection and because he was still in a tapu condition since the error had ruined the magic of the chant.

In this Arawa tradition are the elements for a psychological association of ideas to strike a creative fire in the Arawa artist to reinterpret the biography of a hero who originated long before the time of Chief Tama-te-kapua.

Another possibility, of course, is that the incident of the error in the purifying chant is a free element in Maori mythological stock-in-trade used in other well-known traditions and myths. Chroniclers drew on this stock-in-trade for the incident in the biographies of both Maui and Tuhoro.

Such errors also occurred in times less distant than when Maui and Tuhoro lived. A constant fear of error hung over every participant in a rite. This was one reason for requiring silence during sacred periods. Priests could then concentrate without disturbance on chants and rites important to the welfare of the entire tribe. During great ceremonies in Tahiti and Hawaii, even domestic animals had to be kept quiet. Frequently they were tied up and muzzled to ensure the requisite calm over land and sea. No dog could bark, no pig grunt, no rooster crow, or the spell would be broken. Hawaiian chants occasionally refer to the awfulness of a barking dog during a sacred period (Emerson, 88). The rapid, monotonous style of reciting chants, as if the reciter hurried breathlessly on over the words before he could forget them, developed partly as a mnemonic device and partly as a result of frequently repeating formulaic chants. The style was also carried over into popular, non-religious recitations.

But whatever the history of the composition of the Arawa Maui cycle may be, its author-raconteur saw the possibility of using an error in the father's rites over Maui as a point of departure in building up suspense to a climax. The narrator has integrated various stages of Maui's career from birth to death into a composition which resembles a novelette in its closely woven plot. The Arawa cycle is a masterpiece of primitive literature.



## THE ROLE OF MAUI IN OCEANIC DAILY LIFE

### THE PLEASURE OF STORYTELLING

Maui figures in almost every phase of daily life in some way. This we know despite the destruction of most of the ancient native customs and the rarity of specific references to the hero's function in records about the culture of those Polynesian, Melanesian, and Micronesian islands that know him. His name crops up in a greater variety of situations than that of any other god or spirit in the Polynesian pantheon. To carry on their activities with vigor and success, a bird hunter, a fisherman, a farmer, a playing child, a gossiping friend, a priest, a genealogist, a poet, or a traveler may mention Maui or draw on a chant, incident, or proverb involving his name.

Collectors of myths have seldom included annotations, except of the most general and vague kind, on Maui's place in daily affairs and the thoughts of the people. Most of the little information published about his cultural role comes from New Zealand. In the main, attitudes about him can be interpreted from the myths themselves and from proverbs, poetry, genealogies, and magical chants concerning him. Circumstances under which they are recited also tell something about Maui's role. By collecting only myths about Maui and little or nothing about attitudes toward him, collectors have ignored innumerable sinews that make the myths a dynamic and vital part of Polynesian physical and mental life.

The large number, kaleidoscopic variety, and far-flung distribution of myths about Maui show that Polynesians have for centuries found him, as they find him today, a popular subject to talk and hear about as they lounge on mats indoors or under the trees after the day's work is done, or on festive occasions when they relax from serious religious and social duties which have brought them together.

The contribution to social euphoria and unity by informal storytelling, particularly of a humorous and marvelous type like the Maui cycle, is obviously of great value in the life of any people, primitive or civilized. However, it is so taken for granted that its importance in the social scheme for relaxation is not often fully appreciated. The practical value of myths for recreation and the furthering of friendly relationships is as significant as their important functions of supplying explanations of the existing physical and social world and precedents for magical spells and rites.

It is difficult to gauge what probably is an important factor in Maui's popularity, namely that myths about him as a trickster are a conventionalized release from burdens of society and limitations of the physical world. Humor disguises inward rebellion or weariness of physical and social restrictions and

finds satisfaction in developing the mythology and personality of a hero who broke ancient precedents and established new ones.

The myths are an artistic and emotional outlet by socially approved means and conventionalized art forms to give prestige and satisfaction to the narrator and pleasure and relaxation to his audience. The author-raconteur is in direct and intimate contact with his audience. Listeners stimulate him to exert his best pantomime and narrative talent. They also are a control to prevent unpopular deviation from narrative formulas. They act as a brake on an over-exuberant imagination which might get too far ahead of the crowd.

Polack, writing in 1840 (211, vol. 2, pp. 104, 116, 172), says of the Maori that "tales (and we regret to add talebearing) are sources of uncommon delight to these people . . . they delight in the recounting of improbable tales, mystical relations, fabulous obscenities, exaggerated traditions, supernatural visions, or ghost stories, travels, and adventures . . . and no time is reckoned too precious to greedily devour the adventures of spirits and goblins." Hearing them tell of Maui so often, he concluded that Maui was their national god. On the beach before his home, a halfway point for traveling Maori, Polack found time to tell them about Tom Thumb, Jack and the Beanstalk, Babes in the Wood, Gulliver's Travels, and Red Riding Hood. Probably as the Maori got into their canoes to continue their journey next morning, they shook their heads over the "improbable tales, mystical relations, and fabulous obscenities" that delighted Europeans.

In telling the prose versions of the myths, a narrator employs every dramatic device he knows to enliven his stories. He strains at an imaginary fishline as he tells how Maui hauled up the islands, some of them covered with houses, people, and plantations. He breathes heavily and huddles up to demonstrate how mankind wheezed and crawled about in the steaming, smoky blackness of the world before Maui separated sky and earth. He imitates Hina's shrill-voiced and staccato anxiety over her own possible fate and that of the loved one whom Maui has turned into a dog. Maui myths are stories of action. More than many other entertaining Polynesian tales, they require dramatic skill in telling.

Dr. Buck (41, p. 51) says that as a child his favorite part of the myth was when his grandmother, taking the role of Taranga, ticked off her four sons from thumb to ring finger on one hand, saying, "Maui-in-front, Maui-within, Maui-on-one-side, Maui-on-the-otherside." She would gaze in pretended astonishment at the nameless little finger and exclaim, "But who is this? It is no child of mine." Then up would pipe the precocious fifth, "Yes, indeed, I was born of thee. Thou cast me immature upon the ocean vast, but my ancestor Tangaroa took pity on me and raised me to maturity." Then Maui's mother pressed her nose to his and said, "Yes, thou art my last-born

son. I will name thee after my topknot of hair, Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga." Thus, the little finger got a name.

Polack attended a memorial feast for a dead chief at which an aged priest began to spin yarns to a group of people about him. So vigorous were his gestures that his admiring circle drew back to give him plenty of room to illustrate his stories. Nearby, like a second circus ring, was a group around a soloist who from time to time invited his listeners to join in the chorus of his song about a mythological hero. He, too, by expressive gestures conveyed to his audience how the hero felt about the adventures befalling him (Polack, 211, vol. 1, p. 100).

Telling stories to entertain friends is not limited to the Maori or to any one social class in any island. Chiefs and priests indulge in the pleasure of informal narration like common people. Tupia, a Tahitian priest and chief, entertained Captain Cook with tales about Maui. William Ellis of the London Missionary Society writes that the people were "peculiarly addicted to pleasure, and to their music, dances, and other amusements, nearly as much of their time was devoted as to all other avocations" (87, vol. 1, p. 193).

Bits of fables, myths, and folktales, expressed in terse proverbs and mottoes enter into conversation and gossip about current events and personalities. In the Arawa Maui cycle, when the hero's older brothers critically discuss his behavior, Maui-mua, the eldest, quiets dissension by citing proverbs and referring to the oldest quarrel in the world between brothers. The Polynesian equivalent of the story of Cain and Abel is the myth about Earth and Sky being separated from each other by their children who squabbled and attacked each other, thereby starting the first war known to the world.

Anciently when, at a public assembly, lesser chiefs of Tahiti discussed the high chief's recommendations, orators recited traditions to back up their opinions. Their opponents often gave a different version of the same tradition to fortify their belief. Debates were carried on with great determination and stubbornness until someone quoted a suitable passage from an ancient chant either to settle the disputed point or to advise calmer behavior. The matter was then dropped. Because the chant was regarded as the older, more stable, and more reliable version of the questioned event, it was as decisive as a European reference to a standard dictionary or encyclopedia. Ellis (87, vol. 1, p. 203) heard an argument over who stole the buoy of Captain Bligh's anchor when the *Bounty* was in port, an event which had occurred 75 years earlier. The argument went on and on until a debator recited two lines of a ballad about the event, wherein the thief was named. Because the ballad was so well known and its authority unquestioned, the debate ended.

Ethnographers and non-professional students of culture frequently remark on the avid joy of islanders in spicily narrating gossip, which soon echoes

from one end of the island to the other. Gossipers may refer to Maui's adventures to make a comparison or drive home a point. "As crafty as Maui when he went to steal fire from Mahuika," editorializes one human newspaper about the cunning of a personality in the public eye. Gossipers agree that such an admirably deceitful man has not been seen since the time of Maui unless it was when Rata, another ancient hero, captured the wood elf who had kept him from chopping down a tree to use in building a canoe.

In view of this love of gossip, one should question in a small atoll any narrator's claim to esoteric lore unknown to the rest of his family or anyone else on the islet. Usually, anyone on a small atoll who does not know certain traditions lacks such knowledge only through disinterest or the inability to learn. Cultural and environmental factors operate against anyone keeping a secret on a small, isolated island.

Great secular celebrations follow important religious ceremonies to honor a god, a chieftainess soon to bear a child, or perhaps to commemorate a dead member of a noble family. Nowadays, however, Bastille Day, saints' days, or the arrival of a distinguished visitor are more likely to be incentives of festivals. For months before a fête, those who have initiated it direct the planting and gathering of food to be distributed and eaten at the festival. They compose laments and eulogies of the dead or instruct bards to do so. Entertainers plan and practice their songs, dances, narratives, dramas, and games. They must be prepared for perhaps days of celebrating and evening performances which end at dawn, only to begin anew after a brief period of rest.

Young people, especially those of high birth, bleach their skins and fatten themselves to prepare for the gala event. The fairest and stoutest are acclaimed in many Polynesian islands. To plebeians, however, a light skin indicates weak vitality. Mangareva formerly had formal beauty contests at which the shouts of the public singled out the finest looking girls and boys. In Mangaia, favorite children who were being fattened were beaten for not eating enough. "Shall I be put to shame to see you so slim at the dance?" shrieked an indignant Mangaian nursemaid to her charge (Gill, 124, p. 13). The Rarotongan Maui was, by these standards, a beautiful sight, a worthy foster child of Tangaroa. When he stood up for the first time, his eight heads pushed up the sky and the rocks which had grown into his fat scattered far and wide. In Samoa, Maui's father bragged because his boy wore a loincloth 100 fathoms long. In olden times in Tonga, however, a chief would kill the attendants of his daughter if they let her get too fat (Gifford, 119, pp 73, 129).

Besides beauty contests and debuts of favorite children, the great festivals include many informal gatherings of friends and relatives who gossip, tell stories, and start their own parties. Guests are eulogized in orations. In turn, they eulogize their hosts. Etiquette requires each to recite the accomplishments of the other's ancestors.

Celebrations often center in the community house or in long shelters especially constructed for festivals. The Arawa Maui cycle mentions the village House of Assembly to which Maui came at night to join his brothers in a dance so that he might attract his mother's attention and tell his story of how the gods had saved and reared him after he had been abandoned. In just such a village house and setting, later generations of Maori tell the story of Maui's birth and the entire cycle of his subsequent adventures.

In other islands—for instance, in Mangareva and the Cook Islands—community houses were built before the breakdown of native culture to discharge “the functions that the public hall, theater, and accommodation house provide in western society.” An early visitor described a Mangarevan community house as shaped like a hangar, of which “the right side was reserved (tapu) for men, especially priests and the royal family. The left side was common . . . and was open to both women and men for the rendering of chants, songs, and dances.” The central area served as the stage. The audience which crowded around it to watch the performance made presents to the actors and singers who, on request, sang and danced popular selections or composed new pieces (Buck, 275, pp. 232, 242).

A Mangarevan chief's wealth and power were advertised by the size and quality of the community house and his own house. In his private home or in the open paved space before it, he held official meetings at which there was much stylized oratory. For small social affairs in his home, he commanded the services of entertainers in singing, dancing, acting, and gaming (Buck, 275, p. 242). Larger parties assembled in the community house, where the guests later slept. The street or plaza in front of the chief's house or the community house served on occasion as a stage for dramas.

Decorating Maori community houses of the past and present are carved figures, symbolic of gods and heroes. These are set on rafters or carved on supporting posts. On the walls of Maori meeting houses, grotesque carvings represent Maui in his attacks on the older order of gods and customs. With red tongue sticking out, he fishes up the islands (Maning, 189, facing p. 342). The protruding tongue, common in Maori carvings and a standard gesture in war dances, symbolizes valor, courage, and defiance (Dieffenbach, 82, vol. 2, p. 63). Like other mythological beings, Maui is conventionally depicted in the carvings as having only three fingers.

A carved slab of *totara* (*Podocarpus totara*) shows Maui trying to pass through the body of the goddess of death to gain immortality for himself and mankind. One modern house in Urewera District is named Hine-nui-te-po for this goddess, because the Ngati-whare Tribe has sent so many “warriors to be thrust between the fatal thighs of the Great Ruler of Death” (Cowan, 74, pp. 17-18). Another carving shows Maui holding two ropes. From one, the snared sun dangles.

In pre-European days, villagers who glanced up at the carved posts and walls, made more grotesque by the wavering flare of torches, depended less upon the carver than upon their imagination and the storyteller's pantomime and words to illustrate the myths about their favorite trickster. The ancient art was symbolic, unlike the literal representations of the modern Maori carver.

Formerly, large villages in New Zealand and the Chatham Islands even had special houses for young people. There, merrymaking could go on till dawn without disturbing the sleeping adults. The young folks told stories, carried on romances, and danced the *haka*, the dance in which Maui joined his brothers at that famous first reunion of the Maui family. Rows of dancers, decorated with feathers and paint, sang part-songs, themes of which are sometimes based on myths, to accompany their unified body movements. Young people's houses, where unmarried people gathered after dark, were built in several eastern Polynesian islands in former times. The beach was also popular as an informal gathering place for youth. Family scandals were sure to begin should a married person stray into these parties.

#### TRAINING OF MAUI'S POLYNESIAN BIOGRAPHERS

That the peculiar genius of Polynesians lies in aesthetic expression, is evident from more than the rich mythology which beautifies and embroiders every aspect of their relatively simple material economy. It can also be seen in their decorative art and even in their love for elaborate etiquette and for beauty contests.

How highly Polynesians regard the profession of literature, whether for practical or purely aesthetic ends, is apparent from their maintaining, honoring, and educating specialists in literature. Moreover, the mark of a chief, or any well-born person, is his command of traditions and literary style. This is especially true in eastern and southern Polynesia. Though less emphasized in the west, it is a useful social grace there, even if one is a high chief and can relegate to attendant minor chiefs the study of traditions for political purposes and to bards the cultivation of literature as an art.

In the Society Islands, priestly novices of high birth learned, in schools reserved for them, myths and chants about Maui which explain how he cooperated with creative gods in improving the world. As in New Zealand, only men attended these priestly colleges which were situated on sacred ground. But women of the Society Archipelago attended classes with men in teachers' academies, which were located wherever convenient. Here they learned mythology, genealogies, and all other knowledge except that taught only to priests (Henry, 147, pp. 153-154).

If a Tahitian's education were questioned, he recited the names of his schools, his teachers, the subjects he studied, and, very important, the gifts

he had given his teachers. He would exclaim, "I have chopped fish for the teachers. I have brought finely braided cloth to the teachers. I have pounded fruit batter for the teachers. I have taken family pigs to the teachers." That he had paid tuition proved him to be no dilettante but an earnest scholar to whom the teacher had imparted not only the words and rites of chants, but the magical power without which they would be worthless.

The Society Archipelago formerly had a highly organized and graded society called the Arioi. The Arioi conducted dramatic performances, talent shows, and vaudevilles to entertain the populace. They traveled from island to island in grand style, in large canoes decorated with colored pennants. Images of Oro and his brothers, tutelary gods of the entertainers, had places of honor in the principal canoe. Captain Cook once saw about 70 canoes with about 700 passengers in an Arioi expedition. Performances took place on the canoes while the audience watched from the shore, or in open-sided pavilions built on land to accommodate audience and performers. Every wedding of any importance had a band of Arioi to entertain guests; and traveling chiefs took a troupe with them to avoid boredom.

All ranks of society—high chiefs, the gentry, and plebians—could join the Arioi Society if they had beauty and talent as mimics, dancers, singers, chanters, and narrators. A different dress and tattooing design distinguished each of the eight orders of the society. The more advanced orders rarely performed but trained the lower orders by using them as servants and directing their strenuous practice and performances.

Names of a few leading Arioi comedians and the houses where they acted have been recorded. Names of comedians often have a hauntingly descriptive ring. "Cheerful" was the name which the chief comedian at Papara, Tahiti, always bore by right of inheritance, doubtless in memory of a happy predecessor. "Impulse" was the title of a leading performer in another district, while "Bad Play" and "Bad Music" directed dramas in Tairapu (Henry, 147, pp. 79, 85).

The Arioi Society is said to have been organized by priests of Opoa, Raiatea, who united bands of strolling players and court jesters into a missionary society to spread good will and tolerance for the cult of Oro, a god whom they were trying to make the leading member of the pantheon. Comedians opened all entertainments with conventional prayers to Oro and those minor spirits who presided over each branch of entertainment—wrestling, boxing, chanting, dancing, or storytelling. Oro was the son of the god Taaroa (Tangaroa), to whom Maui-mua dedicated the great temple at Opoa after his eight-headed youngest brother had raised the sky. Taaroa retired in favor of his son Oro. That is, priests retired Taaroa and elevated Oro. Under Oro's priests, the Opoa marae (temple) which Taaroa "gave" to his son became the religious center of eastern Polynesia (Henry, 147, p. 95).

Society Islanders heard the Arioi chant, sing, and tell about Maui, Hiro, and many other ancient heroes. They also heard the Arioi gossip about contemporary individuals who had come into the public eye through their misbehavior or some unusual adventure. Arioi dramas usually took place at night in pavilions lighted by fires and candlenut flares. Teuira Henry, who combined results of her own research with records of early missionary observers in the Society Archipelago, writes that "even the crickets . . . cried with joy on these occasions." Most European accounts utterly condemn the Arioi for their licentious behavior and carefree life. Miss Henry, however, draws attention to a desirable aspect of the Arioi Society. She writes that "in their plays, the actors flattered or ridiculed with impunity people and even priests, from the greatest to the least, and they often did much good in thus causing faults to be corrected." (See Henry, 147, pp. 230-240.)

Like court jesters in other parts of the world, the Arioi had acquired the privilege of burlesquing contemporary events and caricaturing important personalities and anyone whose over-rigidity in observing custom or of too carelessly ignoring public opinion had come to Arioi attention. If it struck them as a theme which could be turned into a satiric comedy or into wisecracks to entertain the audience, they did not hesitate to use the newest scandal that came to their ears. Changing any part of the social order was perhaps only of secondary interest to them. First and foremost, they were entertainers. They knew that people liked to hear about other people and see human foibles and follies burlesqued on the stage. Anecdotes and jokes about people in the public eye were particularly enjoyed. A person of lesser renown would not be mentioned unless something very extraordinary had happened to him, something which would outweigh the fact that he was a nonentity. Chiefs and gentry who jealously guarded their social status and demanded respect and obeisance from people of lower rank tolerated quips, jibes, and scandalous remarks which the Arioi made about their persons and positions. The Arioi, in their humorous fashion, spread rumors and reported scandals which if talked about by anyone else would lead to the speaker's death or war against his district.

If the action of a skit centered about some event of the day, such as Captain Cook's arrival, the play was assured of an attentive audience. Captain Cook, his crews, and everything that they did provided the Arioi with much entertaining material. A romance of a girl and a crew member was a fruitful source of plot. The audience enjoyed the burlesque but the girl was overcome by shame and embarrassment. How the crew member felt is not recorded.

The diplomatic immunity which the Arioi enjoyed in nearly every phase of their private and professional life probably gave them an unusual perspective on tapus which bound the rest of the people. Such an organization would attract non-conformists who were unadjusted to their hereditary lot as landless

laborers and serfs, or as landed gentry who were pillars of society and had much responsibility, or as higher nobles wearied by fettering tapus. Nobles, despite their high rank, could not get about freely, for every move they made might result in a tapu for someone else. Since the people, in order to get on with their daily activities, had to stop the handicapping system somewhere, they imposed tapus on the nobility.

Unfortunately, no versions of myths about Maui known definitely to have been told by the Arioi have been preserved. Instead we have a priestly account about how the eight heads, instead of thinking up mischievous tricks, humbly served the gods to better the newly made world.

A single popular version of a Tahitian Maui myth has been published. Its broad humor about sun-snaring and the escapades of Maui's sister contrasts with the serious version of sun-snaring told by priests (Luomala, 171, p. 26). According to the popular version, Maui's sister came running to the hero while he was busy lassoing the sun and tying the ropes to a large rock. The girl had become involved in a love affair which she now found tedious and embarrassing. She wanted Maui to help her get out of it at once, but Maui was too busy beating the sun to notice anyone near him. The girl, in vain, tried to attract his attention. Knowing at least the most elementary way of catching a man's eye, she abandoned all proper Tahitian reserve between brother and sister, and pulled her skirt up over her head. Maui dropped the ropes and let the sun go. But the sun has gone more slowly ever since then because Maui had already succeeded in crippling it.

A place in the Society Islands which gave abundant leisure for storytelling of a humorous type was on the coral islet of Te-tua-roa, about 26 miles north of Tahiti. Political refugees, people temporarily in disgrace at court, and pleasure seekers gathered there. Elegant ladies of society withdrew to Te-tua-roa to fatten themselves and bleach their skins to meet the court beauty standards. The island, enclosed by a reef, is very low so that from a distance the coconut trees seem to float on the water. The local residents lived on coconuts and fish and occasionally breadfruit, which they got in trade with the Tahitians. They probably also acted as servants to the "summer visitors," who came to rest from the strenuous pleasures of court life. Te-tua-roa, according to William Ellis (87, vol. 1, p. 21), was a "watering place for the royal family, and a frequent resort for what might be called the fashionable and gay of Tahiti. Areois, dancers and singers were accustomed to repair thither with those whose lives were professionally devoted to indolence and pleasure." Te-tua-roa sometimes had, on a pleasant day, as many as 100 canoes drawn up on the beach at one time. Higher class women lay under the coconut trees while their skins paled and their bodies fattened.

Marquesans formerly had a class of professional entertainers called the *ka'ioi*, the dialectical equivalent of *aroi*, but they were not organized into a

society. For the most part, *kaʻioi* were young people who were camp followers and roustabouts at festivals where they helped prepare the dramas and participated in exhibitions of dancing, singing, narration, and games. Moerenhout (196, vol. 1, p. 502), an early writer, declares that the *kaʻioi* had Maui as their god and dedicated an annual festival to him. However, as will be discussed in a later chapter, this point is open to question. Psychologically, though, Maui would certainly be a suitable god for the younger generation, particularly those with a bent for the *kaʻioi*. Mangarevans and Cook Islanders also gave the name of *kaʻioi* to adolescent libertines who had not yet settled down as solid citizens. They reigned in the houses of entertainment named after them (Buck, 275; 276, p. 43).

Formerly, the Marquesan father of the upper class who wished his son or daughter to learn the legends, built a large house and employed a professional bard to impart his lore to the young person in company with about 30 men and women between the ages of 20 and 40. As in other island schools, the teacher consecrated students to their study, even when their subjects were of a secular nature. The period of learning involved many tapus to insure perseverance, precision, and respect for knowledge (Handy, 144, p. 20).

E. S. C. Handy says of Haapuani (Isaac Puhetete), who told him Marquesan myths about Maui, that he was "probably the most learned man in all the islands at the time." Atuona, where he lived on Hivaoa Island, "was recognized by Marquesans throughout the islands, as the great center of lore." Atuona had a reputation of preeminence in literary art comparable to the place held by Kauai in the Hawaiian Islands. As a boy, Haapuani had listened to older men telling myths of the heroes. Later in life, his wife's father, also a scholar, had taught him what he knew. Handy does not state whether Haapuani ever attended a native academy or when such schools were last conducted in the Marquesas (144, p. 3).

Kenneth Emory, an authority on the Tuamotus, which lack formal schools of learning, informs me that whoever in the Tuamotus shows an interest and aptitude is taught by elder members of the family or tribe. Even those of lesser intelligence and interest absorb knowledge of chants, rites, and myths simply through participating in daily ceremonies. Their knowledge, however, may be inaccurate according to family or tribal standards. Children imitate their elders and recite verses of chants and traditions they have overheard. An adult half consciously corrects the child. If impressed by its ability, he undertakes to teach it more systematically.

A modern example illustrates that a person without scholarly ambitions does not try to learn all the traditions or even all popular tales. A young Tuamotuan man who visited Bishop Museum in 1940 knew about Maui and had a general idea of his career, but stated that Rata was his favorite hero.

A friend of his knew a version that he liked, and upon request had dictated it to him so that he could write it down and memorize it at his leisure. Obviously, writing down the version is modern. In the old days he would have learned the version by rote and then, if he wished, would have varied the phrases as much as his narrative art and the tolerance to change of his audience would permit.

In Samoa only certain chiefs and their wives endeavor to acquire an extensive knowledge of traditions. These are the talking chiefs, who, after being educated by older holders of the title, act, among other functions, as orators for high chiefs. High chiefs leave to talking chiefs the problems of justifying their privileges through the recital and manipulation of myths and genealogies.

Samoa did not have formal schools of learning, as did many eastern islands from the Hawaiian Islands to New Zealand. Powell, an early collector who obtained myths from two talking chiefs in Tau Island (Manua, Samoa), states (214) that different parts of a myth and its poetic form, the *solo*, were learned by different members of the family. A young man learned the prose; a young woman, the poetry, while older members of the family tried to explain archaic-allusions in the story and chant. A Tau Island *solo*, telling how Maui stole fire, is given on a later page in this study.

Margaret Mead (194, pp. 7, 148), who studied Manuan life 50 years after Powell and found no record of such division of labor, writes, "Informants agree that traditional lore was taught to daughters only if there were no sons, and by talking chiefs to their wives." She believes that Powell's myths had been preserved in a single family line because they appear to have been edited, rationalized, and synchronized. They lack the characteristically loose, amorphous form of most Samoan traditions. Mead considers the gangling style inevitable among Samoan narrators because, unlike some eastern Polynesian islands, they have no legend-keeping group. The popularity of the *solo* over the myth as a means of entertainment also contributes toward breaking up long plots. Nor will a closely knit form of a myth survive for long if a talking chief sees a way to revise it in support of his political ambitions and those of his high chief.

The importance of Maui myths to native scholars as part of their traditional history is illustrated in a subsequent chapter by the Rarotongan Maui cycle. The narrator, Chief Tara-are, had been taught by his father, who had been instructed by his father. Tara-are learned the cycle while living until manhood isolated in a cave where his parents attended him and permitted him to eat only those foods believed helpful in developing a retentive memory.

Though every social group is interested in ancestral traditions, the mythology as a unified body of knowledge usually disintegrates if the society has no literary specialists. Anciently, when a new island was colonized, one or

more priests accompanied the expedition to perform the proper ceremonies, establish the gods in the new home, and keep alive and up to date the traditional history. Tara-are's ancestor came with the great chief Tangiia to Rarotonga as a priest. The priest and his colleagues recast the ancient cycle of myths about Maui into the pseudo-historical form which Tara-are's descendant gave to missionaries in Rarotonga for publication.

Colonists who settled Tongareva, unlike the Rarotonga newcomers, were led by warriors who had no learned men like Tara-are among them. Tongarevan traditional history is confused and full of gaps as a result. Even Maui has been almost completely forgotten. The only Maui myth found by collectors in Tongareva tells of a wrestling contest between Maui and a god (Buck, 272, p. 215). This may be a fragment of the myth about Maui stealing fire. In many islands, the theft of fire leads Maui into a fight with its owner.

In New Zealand and the Cook Islands, specialists in native literature and knowledge were "usually priests or chiefs of noble birth but they were individuals, whereas in Mangareva such chiefly experts were grouped into an exclusive class" (Buck, 275, pp. 304-306). Easter Island and the Marquesas had a similar class of intellectual authorities, to which belonged Marquesan bards who educated young people in traditions.

Mangarevan experts usurped certain priestly functions in the ceremonies, thereby making themselves as necessary to the complete ritual as were the priests. With drums beating, they chanted ancient lore while priests performed rites. Mangarevans recognized their importance by giving them a goodly share of the food distributed after ceremonies. Being themselves of noble birth and under the protection of superior gods, literary experts were honored at royal affairs where they recited genealogies and poems eulogizing guests. On important occasions, an expert delivered public orations before the chief's house or in the community building.

This intellectual group also instructed men and women entertainers in accepted versions of the mythology. Entertainers popularized the learning of experts in their chants and dance-songs performed at the command of the royal family.

Older women in most islands excel as keepers of genealogies and traditions. In Tongan noble families, they teach young chiefs the native history and genealogies essential in maintaining social position and land titles (Gifford, 119, p. 232).

Tuamotuan women learn traditional lore, even chants and details of certain ceremonies performed on maraes in which they are not allowed to participate. The Bishop Museum Tuamotuan Expedition commonly found the men consulting the women when they were uncertain of details of traditions. Kamake, greatest of all Tuamotuan sages, offered to teach Reva, wife of his grandson

Fariua, the ancient learning. She refused, scoffing that such matters were heathenish nonsense. But her husband, a chief in Fangatau Island, acquired Kamake's learning which includes the Maui cycle (Stimson, 264, p. 3). The Maui cycle of Vahitahi Island, given in a later section, was narrated to the Expedition by a woman named Ruea.

Mary Kawena Pukui, authority on Hawaiian lore at Bishop Museum, tells me that her grandfather taught her myths of the island of Hawaii, her home, which is rich in traditions and *wahipana* (noted spots associated with mythical events). He usually told myths at night and demanded close attention of his listeners, permitting them no movement other than the occasional shifting of body weight to relieve a cramped feeling. The myths were long because of their many chants which must not be omitted and the frequent repetition with minor variations of certain incidents in the characters' lives. One evening a member of the family twice rose during the narration of a long myth to walk back and forth. The narrator followed the first walk with black looks. At the end of the second walk, he stormily refused ever to finish the myth.

### THE GAMESTERS

Many different kinds of exhibition games are popular at festivals and in daily life. They are accompanied by chants, dance steps, and invocations to the gods. Juggling balls, spinning tops, flying kites, throwing reed darts, making string figures, wrestling, and tests of strength are only a few of the numerous games enjoyed by young and old. Some people do them so well as to be sought after as entertainers for large public exhibitions. Maui's name is mentioned in connection with many games, either as the originator or the most adept personage ever to have played them.

His myths inspire artists in string figures. Admiring audiences watch the artists shift skillfully from one string pattern to another to represent a sequence of crucial moments in Maui's hectic career from birth to death. As players show how Maui snared the sun, fished up land, and attacked the goddess of death, they recite descriptive jingles or chants from the myths.

Making string figures is a favorite evening pastime. In Easter Island, as well as in other islands, they are used to help teach young people the ancient traditions (Metraux, 195).

A little incident from real life illustrates the value of the string figures in entertaining people. It also demonstrates how myths, chants, and string figures diffuse from one island to another through friendly social contacts between residents and visitors from other islands. A Manihikian visiting in Tahiti added to an evening's fun by demonstrating through a string figure how Maui fished up Manihiki. As the visitor manipulated the string he recited the chant

which Maui himself recited when he stepped on the dry land which he had just pulled up from the ocean depths (Buck, 273, pp. 15, 197) :

Tataka, tataka e!	Fall off, fall off, oh!
Tataka ki muri.	Fall off to the stern.
Tataka, tataka e!	Fall off, fall off, oh!
Tataka ki muri.	Fall off to the stern.
Tokomiti, tokomiti.	The sea recedes; the sea recedes.
Tokowheta; tokowheta.	The sea seethes; the sea seethes.
Haha; haha te whenua,	It appears; the land appears,
Tutu Maui.	And Maui stands upon it.

String figures illustrating Maui's adventures are probably more widely known in Polynesia than published records show. So far, I have found only eastern Polynesian references to cat's cradles based on Maui themes. Marquesans, Mangarevans, and Tuamotuans have certain identical forms involving Maui.

The close bond between Maui and the making of string figures is indicated by the fact that Maori call the figures *maui* because the hero made the first one. In one Maori figure, only four of the five Maui brothers are depicted because, the maker explains, his mother questioned whether Maui-tikitiki was really her child. (See Andersen, 6, pp. 1-4, 122-126, 133; Best, 31, pp. 41-45; Dickey, 81, p. 97; Laval, 161, p. 231; Potae and Ruatapu, 212, p. 11; White, 306, vol. 2, p. 126.)

Contests of various kinds were favorite pastimes in many former royal courts, where hero was pitted against hero in tournaments of literary composition, testing of wits, games of magic, and physical matches. In Hawaiian literary tournaments, competitors staked their lives on their ability to top any insult, riddle, or pun, or to continue a list of names of objects with either a parallel or an opposite. The loser was baked in an earth oven until the flesh fell from his bones. After being cleaned, the bones were made part of the bone trophy fence surrounding the thatched hut of the victorious contestant. Maui engaged in a riddling contest with none other than the gods Kane and Kanaloa, and defeated them. However, they escaped their just fate (Ratzel, 222, vol. 1, p. 315), but Maui, in pursuing them, was struck by a missile and killed.

Gods of Pukapuka Island tested Maui's knowledge and magical skill in many games. Maui knew the name of every string figure the gods set up to test his learning, but when they handed him a tricky figure of two interlocking dried leaflets and asked him to disengage them he was temporarily baffled. Trying to figure out this puzzle still takes up some of the spare time of Pukapukan adults and children. Maui won the game, but only through cunning: he tricked the gods into looking at a bird and then tore the figure apart (Beagleholes, 17, p. 212; 18).

Games of counting and naming objects are common throughout Polynesia and far to the westward. Their popularity is reflected in Maui myths. According to the Maori, Maui counted all the food hidden in his brothers' hands, but they were unable to count what he had in his hands. The reason was that the tricky hero had empty hands (Potae and Ruatapu, 212, p. 11). Another version of the incident (Poata, 209, p. 3) declares that the brothers failed to count what Maui had hidden in his hands because he had so much. A proverb originated from this incident, "Maui can eat with impunity; his hands are filled with food."

In addition to puzzles, the Pukapukan gods gave Maui some counting tests. His task was to count the coral, the stars, and the hairs on the human head. He passed these tests with flying colors but failed when they asked him to count the waves of the sea. He was not alone in this disgrace. Raho, ancestral chief of Rotuma Islanders, failed in this wave-counting test too, though he succeeded in counting the sand that adhered to a leaf which had lain on the beach (Leefe, 165, p. 280; Gardiner, 116, pp. 503 ff). The Nareau brothers of Nuguria Island, Melanesia, who are reminiscent of Maui in deeds and character, were ordered to count the sands of the island. This they did very easily, but the last quiz so baffled them that they lost their minds and drowned. This test was none other than that of wave-counting. Maui probably had a stronger mind than the Nareaus, for nothing is said in Pukapuka of such a fate for him.

Another Pukapukan task was to name the fish. Maui did so in the language of the gods. Unfortunately, his names were forgotten so a later hero, Walemate, renamed them in Pukapukan. As Maui had overlooked one fish, the younger hero called it Walemate after himself (Beagleholes, 18)

Polynesian children play a variant of this game when one of them attempts to name every person on an island, every place name on land and sea, every plant, coral, shell, animal, insect, bird, fish, and star. When the namer halts, he forfeits his turn, and another child takes up the game (Buck, 275, p. 183). The children, of course, merely try to recall common names, whereas Maui had to give new names to all the fish.

Like many other heroes, Maui invented and flew kites of varied shapes and sizes. Stories about Maui's kites occur particularly in the Hawaiian Islands (Westervelt, 302, pp. 112-118). The following is the gist of the story given by Westervelt:

Maui, after repeated experiments, made a kite much larger than any house of his time. Because the wind was not strong enough to lift his kite he called upon the priest Kaleiioke to release the winds from his famous "calabash of the perpetual winds" and let them come to Hilo, Hawaii, and blow along the Wailuku River. Maui pressed his feet into the lava rocks on the river bank and shouted,

O winds, winds of Waipio,  
In the calabash of Kaleiioke,  
Come from the gourd of winds,  
O wind, the wind of Hilo,  
Come quickly, come with power.

The priest heard him and released winds which blew from his Waipio Valley home toward Maui. Again Maui shouted to direct the winds to his kite. While he and the winds struggled for possession of the kite, he shouted boldly to the priest for more wind. Winds which had been whipping up great storms on the ocean turned inland against Maui. At last the cord of the kite broke and fell into the Kau district across the island. Angrily Maui leaped over intervening mountain peaks which are nearly 14,000 feet high. In a few strides he reached the place where his kite lay. One of Maui's names was Maui-the-swift (Maui-mama). When he recovered his kite, he was more careful in taunting the winds to do their worst. Sometimes he would tie the line to the stones in the Wailuku River bed, and when people saw the kite in the sky, they said, "There is Maui's kite. It is a good day for drying tapa." Maui also used his kite to carry his double canoe. After he died his kite fell on the mountain side in a flat plot of fertile land between Maunakea and Maunaloa.

The Maori of New Zealand declare that the hero excelled at hurling darts (*teka*). When he used his brothers' backs as a playing field, his skimming darts carved out the hollows along the backbone, hollows which descendants of Maui, and Adam, have inherited (White, 306, vol. 2, p. 66). The Maori add that Maui trampled on people's backs to squeeze out the lies. But, as anyone can guess, Maui succeeded only in flattening their backs, for the lies remain (Poata, 209).

Another game, popular among children, is to see how long they can chant without taking breath. This seems to have been a common game in many islands. New Zealanders call it *tatau-manawa*. The Maori example of the verse used by the children remains untranslated (Tregear, 291, p. 60). Hawaiians call it *na'u*. At sunset, children of Kona, Hawaii, recite, over and over as long as they can without taking breath, the following verse, collected and translated by Kenneth Emory, which refers to Maui's exploit of snaring the sun so that it will go slowly in the future (Luomala, 171, p. 30).

Na'u, na'u, ia ke kukuna o ka la;	For me, for me are the rays of the sun;
Ke pa'a nei au i ke kukuna o ka la	I bind the rays of the sun.

According to Emerson's version (88, p. 118), the young people of Kona and elsewhere stand on the shore at sunset and, as the sun begins to sink, each person, after filling his lungs, begins to say, "Na-u-u-u-u," which he has to continue until the sun has completely disappeared. He cannot take a fresh breath; if he does, the umpire takes him out of the game. The one who keeps up the drone until the sun is out of sight wins.

This game is mentioned in at least two Hawaiian poems. The song of Kualii (Lyons, 179, p. 167) has the following verse:

The children are making challenge,  
Holding their breath at sunset.

A Hawaiian love song has the following lines (Emerson, 88, p. 118) :

The boys drone out the na-u to the West,  
Eager for Sol to sink to his rest.

It is unknown whether the children's verse was ever used as a magical chant to make the day longer. Many such incantations have been recorded throughout Oceania. As a matter of fact, magic to hold back the sun is well-nigh universal among primitive peoples of the world. In a later chapter, I describe magic used by adult Polynesians to prolong daylight.

Not taking a breath until one has finished a long chant is more than part of a child's game in Polynesia, however, just as the contests of naming, guessing, and counting were serious, adult affairs when heroes, gods, and magicians challenged each other and staked their lives. Polynesians believe that to be magically efficacious certain incantations must be recited without a pause for breath. This kind of narration encourages a rapid, monotonous, and unemphasized style of oral delivery, and perhaps aids the nervous novice at magic to get through the chant without making a mistake. This style is also cultivated in secular chants, as, for example, in Hawaiian hula chants.

Another children's game which imitates activities of their elders is the reciting of genealogies. Children, however, try to recite the genealogy not of their family, but of every dog they know. Each genealogy, of course, must start with the name of Irawaru, the father and god of dogs and the brother-in-law of Maui, who turned Irawaru into the first dog (Best, 25, p. 66).

## THE DRAMATISTS

In several atolls of eastern Polynesia, ethnographers have, during the past decade, witnessed long and humorous skits based on Maui's exploits. The audience shouts with laughter at the antics of costumed actors as they cleverly manage impromptu stage properties and burlesque the mythical ancestor who fished up their island and turned his wife's lover into a yelping dog. Dramas are presented on festive days, such as religious or patriotic holidays or celebrations for distinguished visitors or the assemblage of people from other islands.

These modern dramas contain European touches even when inspired by native mythology and it is not unusual to see Shakespeare's plays performed with actors in tapa costumes. The genius of Polynesians for pantomime and literary expression suggests that the drama is a very ancient literary form among them.

This genius impressed early European voyagers, who mention with fascinated horror and outraged delicacy the pantomimes accompanied by chants

and dances which their hosts performed for their entertainment. Captain Cook and his crews were entertained in many of the islands they visited by variety shows of which part of the program consisted of little dramas or skits with plots derived either from current events or old traditions.

Plays were presented by traveling troupes of the Arioi Society in the Society Islands and the *ka'ioi* in the Marquesas. Since no plays involving Maui have been recorded from either archipelago, examples will be drawn from accounts of modern festivals elsewhere.

From the Tuamotus comes a simple drama about a sea god who decides to visit the earth and see what is going on there. It consists for the most part of a monologue by each person met by the sea god, who has the role of interlocutor.

One acquaintance whom the sea god meets on earth is an old, old lady who comes on the stage with a dog frisking at her heels. The sea god, recognizing her as Hina, politely inquires as to the course of her life since he has last seen her. Perhaps because everyone knows what a bad reputation she has, Hina does not hesitate to give the sea god an account of escapades she has been involved in since they last met.

She has foolishly married Tuna, the loathsome eel demon, and found that she can stand neither him nor the dark, damp home under the sea where he forces her to live. None other than Maui, of whom the sea god has surely heard, rescues her from this horrible life. Maui kills Tuna and plants his head in the ground. From the head grows something called a coconut tree which everyone is finding a wonderful thing to have. Maui and Hina marry but their marriage is unhappy, for Hina falls in love with Ri. Maui is jealous and takes revenge on Ri by turning him into a dog. The faithful Ri, however, does not desert her, for the dog now yelping at her heels is none other than Ri. As the astonished sea god gapes in wonder, Hina goes off stage with the dog howling, "Au, au," and running after her (Caillot, 50).

The exact provenience of this drama is not given by the collector. However, Kenneth Emory tells me that while he was on the Bishop Museum Tuamotuan Expedition, he met Te Iho-o-te-pongi, the director of this drama, whose home is on Raroia Island in the Tuamotus. The play, however, was presented on Hikuero Island where pearl divers and their families had gathered for the summer. Each year the French Government opens a Tuamotuan island for pearl divers, and naturally such a gathering has many sociable phases. A favorite entertainment is to present variety shows and dramas like that about the sea god meeting Hina. This drama was, therefore, a cosmopolitan Tuamotuan creation performed on Hikueru Island by Tuamotuans from various parts of the archipelago.

Buck (41, p. 216; 273, pp. 198-203) mentions entertainments presented on his visits to Manihiki and Rakahanga and describes in detail a Rakahangan

drama based on the early traditional history of Maui fishing up the island with the aid of a sea goddess. The author of the drama reserves a kind of copyright on it and anyone who wishes to perform the play has to ask his permission.

The stage of the Rakahangan drama was the coral-graveled village street before the house of Dr. Buck's host. A chorus, accompanied by an orchestra of a drum and two gongs, began the play with a song about the arrival of Huku, the great ancestor of the Rakahangans. Then down the street came Huku himself, mud-covered and clad only in a loincloth and a conical cap of *tāpa*. However, he was adorned with a rich facial foliage of whiskers, beard, and mustaches which he had improvised from coconut husks. He was laced into the middle of a split coconut leaf which represented his canoe. His feet emerged through the bottom of the canoe so that he could move along while he pretended to paddle or to cast out his line which had a large, conspicuous wooden hook. As he moved toward a coconut in the midst of the street stage, he looked intently over the side of his canoe at the water and exclaimed, "Ah, here is a growth of land at the bottom of the sea. It will grow to the surface."

Then, while the chorus and orchestra explained the significance of Huku and his discovery, the actor began his trip back to his home in Rarotonga, down the street and off the stage. His feet beneath the canoe danced to the rhythm of the music as he pretended to paddle along. When he struck a storm, he made the canoe toss up and down. Finally he arrived safe at home, and the scene ended.

The next scene introduced Hina-of-the-foundation (*Hina-i-te-papa*), who was making herself a coconut leaf bower on the foundation of the world under the sea. Down the street came another fisherman in a canoe, the youngest Maui on his way to visit Hina. He made a stage-dive to her undersea home, knocked like a European visitor on her door, and told her what to do when he and his brothers came fishing the next day and let down bait near her house. Returning to his canoe, he paddled off the stage.

The third scene showed the three Maui brothers in one canoe. By this time, Huku's discovery had grown into an island, and the brothers enacted the story of the fishing up of the island of Rakahanga. Hina, responding to the youngest Maui's instructions of the previous day, put the land on his hook, which she recognized from its unusual bait. When Maui felt the fish bite, he realistically tugged at his line and tipped the canoe up and down in his efforts to land the fish until his brothers fell out of the canoe and drowned. Then he stepped forth on firm land to the praise of the orchestra and chorus.

Later scenes showed the return of Huku to see if his land had grown to a size conforming to his standards, his battle with Maui for possession of the land, and other events in Rakahangan traditional history.

Not all dramas are inspired by a love of comedy and burlesque. Many are serious presentations, but usually those with Maui as the principal character exploit the comic possibilities of the myths to the fullest.

The comic and action-filled adventures of Maui were probably a good source of material for entertainers who, in earlier times, specialized in puppet shows. Emerson, the authority on Hawaiian hula, writes (88, p. 91):

I was not a little surprised when I learned that the ancient hula repertory of the Hawaiians included a performance with marionettes, *ki'i*, dressed up to represent human beings. But before accepting the hula *ki'i* as a product indigenous to Hawaii, I asked myself, Might not this be a performance in imitation of the Punch-and-Judy show familiar to Europe and America? | 3 |

After careful study of the question no evidence was found, other than what might be inferred from general resemblance, for the theory of adoption from a European or American origin. On the contrary, the words used as an accompaniment to the play agree with report and tradition, and bear convincing evidence in form and matter to a Hawaiian antiquity. That is not to say, however, that in the use of marionettes the Hawaiians did not hark back to their ancestral homes in the southern sea or to a remoter past in Asia.

Puppet shows in which marionettes acted out plots of myths and traditions are described by Emerson as "perhaps the nearest approximation made by the Hawaiians to a genuine dramatic performance." Manipulators of the marionettes stood behind a screen to put the figures through the actions of their roles and to recite lines assigned them. Nothing is said of puppets being on strings to enable one person alone to put on the show; apparently if more than two marionettes were on the stage at a time, more than one manipulator was necessary. New Zealand and Niue had figurines manipulated by strings.

When, as is usual in Polynesian plots, the action included, or paused for, the recital of chants, spells, and invocations, the calabash player of the hula troupe accompanied the puppeteer. Of two types of hula performers—the agile (*olopa*) and the steadfast (*ho'opa'a*)—the steadfast ones handled the heavier instruments, even as today. The *ipu*, one of the principal hula instruments, consisted of two calabashes fastened together at their narrow ends to form a figure of eight. Kneeling or sitting in full view of the audience, the *ho'opa'a*, who were usually older people, kept time for the agile troupers who did most of the dancing. Often the *ho'opa'a* led the chanting, or, as in marionette shows, chimed in as actors manipulated the marionettes.

Emerson describes puppets which the royal hula master of Kamehameha III passed on to his brother. They were used in performances given at the jubilee for King Kalakaua's fiftieth birthday anniversary. Puppets were known by the names of characters they represented. They seem, in general, to have looked much alike except for individualized faces and head decorations. The loose-jointed images, which were about one-third life size, were robed

anciently in thin, copper-colored tapa, the design being one perforated with holes. In later times, they wore Mother Hubbard gowns (*holoku*) of bright cotton with a wide band of petticoat, in contrasting colors, showing. The manipulator usually put his hand under the garment to guide the puppet through appropriate motions. The puppet head was carved out of a soft wood like *kukui* (*Aleurites moluccana*) or *wiliwili* (*Erythrina sandwicensis*) and covered with a dark woven fabric to represent hair. Mother-of-pearl was used for eyes.

The audience was drawn closely into the performance by the clowning of a marionette who pointed to someone in the audience. The *ho'opa'a* and the marionette carried on a conversation as to what the marionette wanted and which person he wished to come to the stage.

The *hula ki'i* had a coarse, robust humor. Emerson writes (88, p. 94) :

The songs that were cantillated to the *hula ki'i* express in some degree the peculiar libertinism of this *hula*, which differed from all others by many removes. They may be characterized as gossipy, sarcastic, ironical, scandal-mongering, dealing in satire, abuse, hitting right and left at social and personal vices—a cheese of rank flavor that is not to be partaken of too freely. It might be compared to the vaudeville in opera or to the genre picture in art.

The typical song which follows uses a Maui myth as its theme. Maui, it will be recalled, made many improvements in the human body. He tore off the web which covered it, gave it joints, and otherwise enabled it to move about. A common notion in primitive folklore throughout the world is that the originator of man forgot to complete his work. He made an opening in man's face so that he could eat food and grow and maintain his strength; and he gave him a complicated internal organization for the digestion of food, but completely overlooked how the waste from the body was to be eliminated. The later generations of demi-gods, like Maui, finish the job started by the old gods. The following song, translated by Emerson (88, pp. 95-96), refers obliquely to the anus as "the wound made by Maui."

# I

O Wewehi, la, la!  
 Wewehi, peerless form, la, la!  
 Encouched on the pola, la, la!  
 Bossing the paddlers, la, la!  
 Men of the canoe, la, la!  
     Of that canoe, la, la!  
     Of this canoe, la, la!

# II

Maui inquires, la, la!  
 Who was her grand-sire? La, la!  
 'Twas Wewehi-loa, la, la!  
 Wewehi is dead, la, la!  
 Wounded with spear, la, la!  
 The same old wound, la, la!  
 Wound made by Maui, la, la!

## III

The flag, lo the flag!  
 The flag weeps at half-mast!  
 The flag, indeed, asks—  
 Many, many the flags,  
 A scandal for number—  
 Why are they overturned?  
 Why are their banners cast down?

The chant was composed to be sung as part of a puppet show, one of the activities planned for the commemoration ceremonies in honor of the dead princess Wewehi "of the peerless form," from the island of Maui. She was said to have been the granddaughter of the semi-legendary navigator and chief Wahieloa (Wewehi-loa, in the song). The chant describes beautiful Wewehi seated on a raised couch on the *pola*, "a sheltered platform in the waist of a double canoe, corresponding to our cabin, for the use of chiefs and other people of distinction." Emerson points out that Hawaiians called the language of *hula kī'i* shiftily or secret talk. It involved double meaning and word-plays. In the song dedicated to Wewehi, for example, the reference to the paddlers of the canoe is a euphemism. The men were Wewehi's lovers. Canoe itself is a euphemism here for the human body.

Emerson's belief that the puppet show was part of the ancient culture is confirmed by Captain Cook's reference to an effigy of Maui which he thinks was used in the Tahitian public entertainment as a marionette in a puppet show. Captain Cook describes (Wharton, 304, p. 83) this effigy which he and his Polynesian informant, Tupia, saw. Hawkesworth, who wrote up Cook's notes, has a similar description (146, vol. 2, p. 165), but adds that the Tahitians called the nobs on the image Tate Ete (*ta'ata iti*), little men. First, Hawkesworth states that the image was called Manioe (an unidentified character); later, he remarks that he heard that the figure represented Maui. Cook's description of the effigy of Maui follows:

... we met with an Effigy or Figure of a Man made of Basket work and covered with white and Black feathers placed in such order as to represent the color of their Hair and Skins when Tattow'd or painted. It was 7½ feet high and the whole made in due proportion; on its head were 4 Nobs not unlike the stumps of Large Horns—3 stood in front and one behind. We were not able to learn what use they made of this Monster; it did not at all appear to us that they paid it the least Homage as a God: they were not the least Scrupulous of letting us examine every part of it. I am inclined to think that it is only used by way of diversion at their *Hevas*, or public entertainments, as Punch is in a Puppet Show.

Tupia informs us that this is a representation of one of the Second rank of Eatuas or Gods called *Mauwi*, who inhabited the Earth upon the Creation of man. He is represented as an immense Giant who had seven heads, and was indued with immense strength and abilities. Many absurd stories are told of his Feats by Tupia.

## THE POETS

Polynesian poets distinguish between different types of poetry ; and popular poetry, from a widow's lament to a lover's song of praise, often makes conventional references to Maui and events in his career. To exhibit his learning and evoke emotion, the poet makes classical allusions to Maui or one of his adventures. He draws a parallel between an incident in Maui's life and the present poetic occasion. Such an occasion is when hundreds of Maori people gather to participate in serious religious ceremonies, have a good time, and see old friends during a memorial service held a year after a chief's death. After tribesmen assemble a large stock of food and gifts, the commemoration takes place. Formal and informal events characterize the meeting which lasts several days.

Polack's exuberant memoirs about the days before the old native life had changed due to European contact describe less formalized phases of the memorial meeting (211, vol. 1, p. 90). In the midst of a happy dramatic performance, an actor recalled a past sorrow and began to wail. A fellow performer joined him. The merry drama was forgotten. Actors and audience united in lamentations, while the women gashed themselves to draw blood, as was the custom.

Wailing takes place not only at death, but when friends or relatives who have been separated meet again. They grieve, with much moaning and flow of tears, over whatever miseries, perhaps unknown yet, have afflicted the companion since the last reunion. They weep for those who are absent due to death or travel. Death of a former companion recalls how Maui brought death to the world. Then the ritualized wailing is prolonged as they "with old woes new weep" over the excitement of the occasion.

## SELECTIONS FROM OTHER POLYNESIAN POETRY

## A TUAMOTUAN CHANT OF WELCOME

A recurrent phrase in Polynesian myths, found in other myths of the world too, is that of one character merely wailing while his companion in grief cries beautifully and poetically. A Maori South Islander says that Rehua "cried simple" and without meaning whereas Tane cried poetically in verses (Wohlers, 310, vol. 7, p. 8).

The Tuamotuan father of Maui also composed eloquent poetry when he and his son wept over each other at their first meeting. Maui, reared by his mother Huahega and her father Mahuike, went to claim recognition of his father, Ataraga, whom he had never seen and who lived in another land. The father's new wife ordered the stranger tied to a post and told her husband that she had a soft-shelled turtle as a relish for the food he had just brought

home. When dim-eyed Ataraga drew near ~~the post, he heard the sound of~~ weeping. The turtle, he exclaimed, wept like a human being. He then went directly to the post and saw that a human being was tied there. When he asked who it was, the boy replied, "I am Maui-tikitiki, son of Ataraga!" Twice Ataraga collapsed before he ordered a servant to release his son. Then he took Maui on his knees and wept over him. His welcoming chant (*pehe nanava*) has been preserved for posterity. The translation adapted from Timson's version (265, p. 19) follows:

I

First Voice

Ataraga is the father—

Second Voice

—who sent the child away

Chorus

Vanishing over the pathway of the sea leading to Mahuike, alas!

Ataraga is the father—

II

First Voice

Ataraga is the father

Second Voice

—who had long ceased to hold in memory the child

Chorus

Borne to remote shores upon the voyage of Huahega, alas!

The child was moved with fond recollections—

III

First Voice

The child was moved with fond recollections—

Second Voice

—of the homeland.

Chorus

Vanishing afar over the sea-path of the mother, alas!

The child was moved with fond recollections—

IV

First Voice

The child was moved with fond recollections—

Second Voice

—of the father

Chorus

The child, retracing the lost pathway of the sea to the father, oh, joy!

The child was moved with fond recollections—

V

First Voice

The child was moved with fond recollections—

Second Voice

—changelessly abiding in the heart,

Chorus

Ever the child sought the pathway to the father, oh, joy indeed!

## A MAORI TANGI ABOUT DEATH

The following *tangi* of a Maori widow illustrates how references to Maui and his deeds are incorporated into stylized literary compositions. A *tangi* is a more serious type of lament than either the *pehe* which Maui's father recited over him or the *tiau*. By comparison with the intense melancholy of the *tangi*, they are merely "light showers." The *pehe* and *tiau* alternate with the *tangi* when wailing takes the form of ritualized chanting accompanied by weeping. *Tangi* literally means tears, weeping, lamenting. This widow's *tangi* was not her exclusive composition. It was probably tribal property, for a man mourning the death of his younger brother has contributed a slightly different version. John White gives, in his "Ancient history of the Maori" (306, vol. 2, pp. 62, 79) the original with his translation. The translation below was made by Dr. Buck for this study of Maui.

Alas! my grief that gnaws within  
 For you, O Beloved, no longer with me on the west coast of Te Koiti,  
 Where was the fire for tattooing the lips of your ancestor Pawaitiri.  
 Death is not a new weed!  
 In ancient days death came to Maui because the Patatai laughed  
 And he was severed within  
 When twilight came, Tiwaiwaka flew and lighted on the refuse bar.  
 Thus evil came to thee. Knowledge of water,  
 Knowledge of good, then spread abroad.  
 Your ancestors in ancient times had no power;  
 Ka-hae was impotent.  
 The world went wrong. Farewell!

The use of mythological reference is as peculiar to Polynesian poets as to Shelley and Keats. One must know the mythology and culture to appreciate the emotions and visual images aroused by cryptic allusions.

The widow and her husband, who lived at Te Koiti, had often looked together at the western sky reddened at the end of day by the sun god, Te Tama-nui-te-Ra, and flames of the fire set by old Pawaitiri whose tattooing designs were reflected in patterns of the evening clouds.

The line, "Death is not a new weed," is a common saying. Death is not a recent thing, something to be plucked and cast aside like an unwanted volunteer plant. It has its roots deep in the world. As shown in the Arawa version of the Maui cycle (p. 38), death for man goes back to the time when Maui entered Hine-nui-te-po's body hoping to destroy the goddess of death, the most fearful example of the Devouring Mother of psychoanalytic fame in any mythology. When the rail, Patatai, and the fantail, Tiwaiwaka, laughed and woke up the sleeping goddess, she snapped Maui in two. The aforementioned *tangi* of a man mourning his younger brother has a line which is absent from the widow's *tangi*. This line bemoans Maui's father's omission

of the name of a god from the baptismal chant, for this omission became a boomerang of destruction for human beings.

The line about Tiwaiwaka perching on the latrine bar has complex significance. Tiwaiwaka, a noisy little bird, lives in villages and catches flies. Dr. Buck has suggested to me that the widow's *tangi* has subordinated the role of Tiwaiwaka as the bird which woke up the goddess in order to introduce a second mythological allusion. This allusion is to Kupe, an early discoverer of New Zealand, who, when he returned to his homeland, was asked if any human beings lived in the new island. Quixotically, he replied, "The only inhabitants are the bell bird singing in the forest and Tiwaiwaka hovering over the latrines!"

The poet's symbolism goes even deeper in this reference to Tiwaiwaka lighting on the refuse bar. In Maori religion, curing disease, removing tapus, and conjuring black magic is associated with the latrine. Elsdon Best, one of the greatest authorities on Maori life, writes (30, p. 1141), "That beam is a bar between life and death, between the world of life and the world of death." The space before the beam represents life; the rear symbolizes the goddess of death, Hine-nui-te-po, and destruction.

The line about Tiwaiwaka has, then, a complex meaning. No further word is needed to amplify the contrast between the merry, sociable, twittering Tiwaiwaka and Patatai, so gregarious and friendly to man, and the powerful forces of destruction which their gay fluttering and careless twittering unloosed.

Death is old and came inevitably to the widow's husband. Perhaps if Maui had been a better magician, perhaps if his father had not made the mistake, if the birds had not giggled, if the Maori ancestors had later learned to combat the magic of the black magicians who served Hine-nui-te-po, or perhaps if a more skillful magician had attended the husband, no *tangi* would have been needed. The widow acknowledges in her reference to "knowledge of water, knowledge of good," that her ancestors had learned a little counter-active magic, for water had come into use for ceremonial purification. Her *tangi* sums up the "ifs" which might have saved her husband but did not. She ends her sorrowful chant with the despairing remark that the world is all wrong, full of ignorance, and inability to keep her husband alive. She bids him farewell forever.

With these mythological allusions to Maui's life and other traditions, the author transmuted personal grief into a literary composition. Other Maori showed their appreciation by adopting the poem to express their own grief. Occasionally they dropped out a line or added one to fit their taste. Traditions of the past invest the present with continuity, meaning, and dignity throughout this lament.

## A MAORI TANGI OF FAREWELL TO HOME

A Maori chief driven from his mountain home composed the following *tangi* as he bade farewell to his many favorite places. He poetically alludes to the fire of Mahuika whose volcanic flame sweeps the mountain which dominates the scenery around his home (Cowan, 72, p. 149).

Night's shadows fall.  
Keen sorrow eats my heart,  
Grief for the land I am leaving,  
For my sacred sleeping place,  
For the home-pillows I am leaving.  
On Ngongo's lofty peak,  
So lone my mountain stands  
Swept by the flames of Mahuika.

I am going far away  
To the heights of Moehau,  
To Pirongia,  
To seek another home.

O Rotokohu, leave me yet awhile.  
Let me farewell my forest shrine,  
The altar I am leaving.  
Give me but one more day,  
Just one more day.  
Then I will go,  
And I will return no more.

## A MAORI LULLABY AND ITS FUNCTIONS

The Maori *oriori* is a stylized lullaby with a didactic purpose. It incorporates traditional knowledge, so that from babyhood a boy hears the history of his family and tribe. As he grows older and becomes aware of the words, his questions about the names and allusions give his family an opportunity to teach him history. By means of the *oriori* the parents condition a boy to do his duty. On maturity he is to avenge whatever insults to the family are described in the *oriori*.

A less belligerent *oriori*, given below, was composed by an old lady whose mind had been affected by her frustrated longing for a child of her own. She composed this lullaby to sing over a wooden doll she had made, dressed, and decorated with tufts of albatross feathers for its ears. The translation, adapted from Smith's version (249, pp. 139-140), follows. As the old lady cradled her wooden doll, she told it about its ancestry:

My little child,  
Thou camest from the peak at Hawaiki.  
On thy arriving, on thy coming ashore,  
To the country Maui fished up  
And made dry land,  
Trees bore a child for me.

Then, to exhibit her knowledge and teach the child its genealogy, she told how the sea god Tangaroa went to the lower world Rua-ki-pouri in pursuit of knowledge. The child's ancestor is Chief Puhikai, god of sea monsters, who ordered his tribal brothers, Te Ninihi, Te Wiwi, and Te Wawa to leave their lairs and assist Ruamano who had been attacked by magicians.

Tangaroa sought below in Rua-ki-pouri.  
Thy ancestor is Puhi, chief of the sea,  
Who caused Te Ninihi, Te Wiwi, and Te Wawa,  
To rise and float from their lairs,  
When Ruamano was driven ashore—  
Such was his fate due to powerful magicians.  
Now I have taken this story as a lullaby for my child.

She returns for a moment to the myth about Maui. Several obscure lines are omitted.

Forth from the depths appeared the land  
With Tongariro, mountain of the gods  
We are of high born rank, O child!

She pretends that the child cries for food. To divert its attention, she tells it a little more family history:

O little one! thou criest for food.  
There is no food for thee  
From me, your mother, O little one!  
Te Rahiri ate the shell of the moon,  
Called Te Wai-tokihi-rangi.  
Often have I heard, O little one,  
The story told in many lands,  
That we came hither with Tamatea.

Tamatea was the captain of the Takitumu canoe, from whose crew and passengers the Takitumu tribe claim descent.

The mother tells the child the names of her schools and her teachers. Then if the child is ever questioned about its genealogy or the reliability of its learning, it will tell where its mother, who taught it, received her education.

Lest thou be questioned at Te Mania,  
At Te Hora-a-Moehau,  
Enter straight the house, Rupe-o-Huriwaka,  
The house of the ancestors of the Pokai-akatea,  
Whence I gained the Tokoaru from Pae-kawa.

Alas, for the mother's education, she was slightly deaf.

I did not, O little one,  
Distinctly hear the whole,  
For one ear is deaf.  
But one thing I did grasp—  
The strong desire, the ardent wish for Tane-mata.

Tane-mata is the god associated with learning. The mother ends her *oriori* with an invocation.

Offer up the sacrificial fern-root.  
Utter the inciting invocation  
Utter the invocation of memory . . .

### A MAORI WAR CHANT

About 1830, a priest of the Ngati-Awa, a Maori tribe, stood on his village plaza waiting for his warriors to gather around him. As he pointed out toward Omere, a mountain cape, he chanted a prediction of success for the party leaving to attack the South Island fort called Kaiapohia, already famous because of the battle between its inhabitants and Chief Te Rauparaha and his party which ended with the village in flames. The priest predicted that the Canoe of Maui, the poetic name for South Island, would be conquered by his warriors. He urged his flock of seabirds, his warriors in their canoes, to hurry to Kaiapohia and begin the fight. The translation, adapted from Cowan's version (70), follows.

What wind is this that blows upon me?  
The west? The south? 'Tis the eastern breeze!

Stand on the brow of Omere hill  
And you will see, O 'Raha,  
The glare of the blazing sky at Kaiapohia.

By the bow of the canoe,  
By the handle of the paddle,  
The Canoe of Maui will be overturned  
Below there!

Then paddle fiercely!  
Fly through the seas!  
Plunge your paddles!  
See my flock of seabirds  
In the backwater at Waipara!

Hi' Ha!  
Beyond will rage the fight!

### A TONGAN RECITATIVE ABOUT SKY-RAISING

Tongan bards have a high social position, and high chiefs, who themselves are often poets, are their patrons. Poetry is not a passive activity. Contests between poets became so violent and disruptive of community harmony during one period in historic times that the European administrator had to forbid them until the poets became more artists than warriors.

A particular kind of recitative, the *fakaniua* which means "in the style of Niua-toputapu Island," has as its theme Maui's exploit of raising the skies

(Gifford, 118, p. 18; 119, p. 154). The *fakaniua* uses epic subjects, not every day matters, as themes. Surely a poet could find no more majestic subject than the raising of the heavens. The poet plays upon the recurrent Polynesian concept that there are 10 skies of heavy, solid substance. For a gayer touch, he refers to Hina and Sinilau, traditional princess and prince of many western Polynesian romances. A translation of this *fakaniua*, which was entered in a literary tournament, follows:

Listen, O poet,  
While I tell of the skies:  
First sky and second sky  
Pushed by Maui to be high,  
So that I could walk stately;  
Our lands are two,  
The sky and the underworld.  
Third sky and fourth sky  
Dwell there the covered and inclosed,  
The different sky, the sky that rains  
And that hides the cloudless sky.  
Fifth sky and sixth sky,  
Dwells there the sun, who dies in crimson,  
The little stars moving in succession  
Like a string of walking-sticks;  
And look up to them the dwellers on earth.  
Seventh sky and eighth sky,  
Dwell there Hina and Sinilau;  
The sky of the thunder  
With a great loud voice,  
When angry or giving omen of war.  
The ninth sky and the tenth,  
The sky feathery like herons,  
The sky of uncertain rumbling,  
Perhaps telling of parting.

Although Polynesian poetry has a rhythmic swing because of its many vowels, it rarely has a deliberately contrived final rhyme. However, western Polynesian poets exhibit a tendency toward deliberate rhyming. In the following verse from the above *fakaniua* the poet seems to have tried to make the lines rhyme. The parallelism in this verse is common in Polynesian poems.

Langi tuo fitu, langi tuo valu,  
Nofo ai a Hina mo Sinilau;  
Koe langi ape e tamutamu  
Ha mea e leo lahu ange fau,  
Oka ita oka longolongo tau,  
Langi tuo hiva, tuo hongofulu  
Koe langi ni fulufulu mokuku,  
Koe langi ape oku uulu,  
Kae fefei e tala tuku.

## A TONGAN POEM BY A SCORNE D LOVER

Another Tongan poem cleverly introduces the Maui myth of fishing up land (Collocott, 65, p. 85). It was composed by an irate wooer, scorned because he was too old and not of high enough birth for a chiefly maiden of Niuatoputapu Island. He was the head fisherman of a great chief, Tui Kanokupolu, and in his poem he compares himself and the dignity of his work with the greatest fisherman of all, Maui, who fished up the Tongan Islands with his hook, "Whisper-in-Manuka," which he, Maui, obtained from a man whose wife he courted to learn to choose the magical hook in the old man's collection. The poet plays upon the name of the hook early in the poem and mentions that his sweetheart was of high birth, "a chiefly mat," a fact he had not known at first. Part of the poem of the indignant lover follows:

Well may the thunder crash and the rains descend,  
 The earth quake and tremble with double shocks!  
 Thunder rumbles around; I am bandied about in talk,  
 They sit in judgment on me,  
 On this ill-advised voyage of mine,  
 Sland'rous talk and cause of reproach.  
 Ne'er before have I seen a thing so strange,  
 Like the "Whisper-in-Manuka."  
 Now first have I known  
 That the mat is chiefly, forsooth  
 Is thy mind foolish?  
 Is thy good sense hidden?  
 Am I a canoe to be put about again,  
 To go and be remade from some land  
 That then you may wish to embark,  
 You girls who have but lately grown?  
 But is it not the manner of Tonga  
 That after uncounted moons one is old?  
 Is that a thing to be cause of remark?  
 For is there but one man so fated?  
 Believe rather 'tis our common weakness  
 That was brought to earth . . .  
 Natheless, hear, I shall speak my rede.  
 The canoe that came from Manuka  
 Was manned by a crew from the gods,  
 Maui Atalanga, Maui Motua,  
 Maui Kisikisi, the wise,  
 He brought the woman  
 And knew 'twas "Whisper-in-Manuka."  
 He brought the wondrous hook  
 And he brought it, and drew with it lands;  
 And so Tonga and Eua were given.  
 . . .  
 Now 'tis said that I'm the old axe.  
 . . .  
 I shall return from the house of the snarers,  
 'Tis a pigeon robust and far ranging;  
 Leave her, for so is her will . . .

# OTHER TONGAN POEMS MENTIONING MAUI

In another Tongan poem which celebrates the landscape, a popular theme of Polynesian poets, there is also a reference to the islands which Maui fished up (Gifford, 117, p. 8).

An eight-verse poem cryptically but spiritedly refers to many of Maui's Tongan exploits and the places where they happened. An example of a verse follows (Gifford, 118, pp. 21-22):

Where is Maui who was brave,  
Who threw stones at the fowl  
From Eua when it fled  
Before the flying stones to the weather shore of Tonga?  
Clap!

# A SAMOAN SOLO ABOUT STEALING FIRE

In Samoa, where the poetic form of a myth is more popular than the prose version, one may hear a *solo* (the native term for the poetic epitome, the heart, or vital essence of a myth) about Maui recited at an informal gathering of young people in a kava circle. When the master of ceremonies calls the name of the youth who is to get the next cup of the native drink, kava (*Piper methysticum*), some one may shout "stop" and demand that the youth, as a forfeit, dance or recite a *solo* before he drinks. If he gives an old *solo* like that about Tii-a-Talanga (Samoa name for Maui), his friends hope to catch him making a mistake, which leads to much teasing.

Part of a Manuan *solo* (Fraser, 112, p. 108), given below in a translation adapted from Fraser's, tells how Tii-a-Talanga pulled up a reed and entered the underworld, called Sa-le-Fee. There he wrestled with Mafuie (Samoa for Mahuika) to get a firebrand for the earth-dwellers. After breaking the fire god's leg and arm, Maui took a firebrand and the god's concubine, named Sii-sii-a-Manee, to the earth. Maui was the son of Vea, Mafuie's daughter, whom Talanga took as a concubine upon the urging of Ulu-le-papa, his sterile first wife who was Mafuie's sister. Maui, reared by both his mother and her father's sister, grew up to steal his mother's father's precious fire and his concubine.

This *solo* is a burlesque of Maui's adventures. The reed he pulled up is described as being fierce; his battle with the fire god, with coconut leaf mid-ribs, has the flavor of the comic even though Mafuie had an arm and a leg broken in the wrestling.

A fierce reed caused his delay,  
But he dug it not out,  
He struck it behind  
And then went on his way.

Where is Tii off so early in the day?  
He is off so early to Le-Fee.  
He is off to Sii-sii-Manee.

There he went and back he came.  
Now Tii-a-Talanga is not the same.  
Now Tii-a-Talanga is a chief,  
Of the firebrand he was the thief.  
Though Mafuie pursued  
And combats ensued  
With coconut leaves and wrestling,  
With Mafuie's arm and leg twisting,  
Firm as a rock was Vea's boy,  
Ulu-le-papa's joy.  
Since then we have had cooked food. O!

#### A MARQUESAN LOVE CHANT

A Marquesan lover composed a lament, some 50 years ago, for a lost sweetheart and made it elegantly classical by bringing in two allusions to Maui—first, to Maui's conquest of an eel called Veo and second, to his snaring of the sun. A modern touch is to refer to the sun as the ace of diamonds. This lament, obtained by Mahana of Tahuata Island from its composer Moaa Tetua, has been translated in part by Samuel Elbert. No translation of obscure lines has been attempted. The scorned lover wishes to imply that the suffering and fear of the snared sun as it struggled to escape from Maui were no worse than his own.

Avei pe to ta'ua tuara  
Pahiara ko'ua te hiku te 'a nui  
Na te'a mei fa'e Piakaha.  
Te 'a fe'ea e Maui tutu to i'i te puhi  
o Veo!  
Ua to te hinu o na pe'a te va'a tau omui—

'Ia 'u ai ho'i te fenua teita o tatou!  
Me 'u'uhakatei uria kau putona  
A te ti'a tiere ua hu'i mapi'a 'i te pahu!  
Te hairi taimani te ha'a pekeka!

Tohe 'oe'oe tau pi'ita 'i 'oto 'ou tinai!

Ha'a mate iho 'oe 'i toko'ua inoa  
'I nohe papa'i a ua nei!  
Ua veveti au mei fa'e Takina-hou.  
Hoa e tenei o 'oe me te Papa-apu.  
U tomia iho te ke'ia te 'ani taha ko'u!

Sad was our meeting  
...  
In the house of Piakaha.  
That day Maui in fury bound with all his  
strength the eel Veo!  
The glistening, oily plumes on a canoe  
bow foremost—  
Fear seized our grassy land!  
Trembled...  
The drums beat as witness! (?)  
The ace of diamonds (the sun) was  
furious!  
Strangled in our hearts beneath our loin  
cloths!  
Our friendship is killed  
In the gentle seas and rains!  
I have destroyed the house Takina-hou.  
Now you will be the lover of Papa-apu.  
Let it be buried beneath the sky and  
clouds!

## EULOGISTIC CHANTS

## TUAMOTUS

Many chants were composed for political purposes or to honor visitors. A Tuamotuān poet composed a poem for a visitor who claimed descent from Hiro, a prominent character in central Polynesian traditions and myths. By recounting the great deeds of Hiro and other heroes including Maui, the poet flatters Hiro's descendant. The poem is especially interesting to anthropologists, for while no Tuamotuan myth about Maui raising the sky has been recorded, the chant refers to Maui not only as sun-snarer, but as sky-propper. The poet chants (Emory, 92, p. 103):

Now Maui snared the sun,  
Braided the ropes,  
Attacked the sun,  
The bright sun sparkling over Vaerota.  
O! The sparkling sun at Vaerota!  
Above, birds flap their wings,  
Dark frigate birds with ruffled feathers,  
    You are from inland.  
    You are from seaward,  
    From the land Orovaru.  
Below, the abyss is domed, hollowed out.  
Maui separates, props, extends...

## HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

## Chant to Kualii

The Hawaiian panegyric to Kualii (Ku-the-chief) also illustrates how a chief is honored by linking his name with Maui and other demi-gods and gods. Two warriors, Kapaahulani and Kamakaaulani, or Kama-aulani, who were also composers and magicians, made up the chant of 618 lines to win favors from Ku, chief of a northern Oahu district during the sixteenth or seventeenth century. They chose a novel way to present it to him. They put Ku and a rival chief at odds until finally they met in battle. But before the battle started, Kapaahulani, who had joined the rival's party, began to chant the panegyric to Ku. Pleased, Kualii swallowed his anger and abandoned the battle. The happy rival chief gave the chanter lands and honors which he shared with his brother (Fornander, 104, vol. 4, pp. 364-433; vol. 6, p. 240; Lyons, 179, p. 160; Beckwith, 21, p. 310).

The chant begins with Maui sending a deliberately unnamed messenger to call the gods Kane, Kanaloa, Kauokahi, and Maliu to an assembly. Hapuu was the god of prophecy.

A messenger was sent by Maui,  
 Sent to bring Kane and his set,  
 Kane and Kanaloa, Kauokahi and Maliu.  
 Mana was released,  
 Prayers were uttered,  
 Oracles consulted.  
 Hapuu is the god of the king.

Then follow several lines about Maui fishing up islands. Kauiki Hill on the island of Maui is where Hanaiakamalama lived. She is identified in the Kumulipo, a genealogical chant discussed later, as being the same as Hina-the-bailer who, it will be recalled, helped Maui catch Mr. One-Tooth, who held the Hawaiian Islands in place. The Kumulipo has Maui use his mother's pet mudhen as bait. The Ku chant tells how the pet's wing was broken off in a struggle between its owner and Maui, who wanted to use the bird for bait. With imperfect bait, Maui caught a broken-up land. Kea, mentioned in the chant, is Lono-nui-akea, god of the land the hero fished up (Fornander, 104, vol. 4, p. 370). Luaehu, an ulua, is its chief (Lyons, 179, p. 160). The captured ulua is Hawaii (Fornander, 104, vol. 4, p. 370).

Manaiakalani is the great fishhook of Maui.  
 The whole earth was the fishline tied to the hook.  
 Kauiki was bound to the earth and towered high.  
 There Hanaiakamalama lived.  
 The mudhen of Hina was the bait.  
 The bait tangled to the bitter death,  
 Lifting up the very base of the island,  
 Drawing it to the surface of the sea.  
 Though the mudhen's wing was hidden by Hina,  
 And broken was the table of Laka,  
 The hook went far down to Kea,  
 The fish seized the bait—the fat large ulua,  
 Luaehu, child of Pimoe.  
 O thou great chief!

Following the lines about Maui's exploit, the chanters recite about 45 lines of Ku's genealogy. Then with great detail the bards list Ku's possessions. They include the different kinds of rain, wind, sea, the sun, and the islands, even the semi-mythical Kahiki. They eulogize Ku's military might. Over 100 lines tell what Ku is not. For example,

Not like the tree *wiliwili*,  
 Whose seeds are made into bracelets,  
 Whose trunk is rode thro' the surf,  
 Whose body is down, mid the rollers to ride.  
 Not like to these, art thou Ku.

The remainder of the panegyric tells who Ku is. Identifying the earthly chief of Oahu with the god named Ku, the chanters declare that Kualii was

the messenger Maui sent to summon the gods, and that Ku is a god equal to Kane and Kanaloa (Lyons, 179, pp. 160-170).

### Hula and Name Chants

The poetic eulogy or name chant (*mele inoa*) given below was dignified and worthy enough to be recited at a Hawaiian hula dancer's debut in the ancient days when the hula, under the goddess Laka's patronage, had chiefs competing for the latest troupe to entertain their courts.

The hula, an art combining chanting, dancing, pantomime, and the playing of musical instruments, formerly had a religious quality. Performances took place in a special house built only after proper omens and rites had been observed. Many tapus were imposed on the troupe while the house was under construction. Any violation required confession and ceremonial cleansing. The Hula Halau had an altar on which the troupe laid woodland leaves and flowers to Laka and other deities.

In the Hula Halau, students worked on their instruments, chants, and dances to prepare for their graduation and for later performances in honor of a royal child to be weaned and named, or perhaps for the Makahiki festival. This festival covering a period of four consecutive months from October or November to February or March was a time of thanksgiving with Lono, symbolized by the king, as the patron god. Following the collection of taxes and gifts for the king and Lono, tapus which had halted labor by all except tax collectors and priests were raised and the people were told to play. Thousands clad in their finest gathered to watch great public tournaments of wrestling, boxing, surf riding, and other sports and games. Not the least of the entertainments during this national holiday period were the contributions of the hula troupes which had been training for this occasion. Lono presided over both the religious and secular activities of the Makahiki, but each sport and entertainment had its own gods to whom entertainers made prayers and offerings before beginning performances. The hula troupe particularly honored Laka but did not omit Kane and other great and minor deities in their prayers.

The hula troupe training in the Hula Halau consisted of a hierarchy. At the head was the general business manager who supervised the training and discipline of the company and made arrangements for public performances. Then there were the priests and their deputies. Students had mouthpieces or agents with assistants to represent them and guard the altar. Besides these members of the troupe, there were door guardians who sprinkled a mixture of sea-water and turmeric over all who entered, kept order, and removed troublesome people at public performances. They also placed a bowl of fresh 'arwa (kava) on the altar for Laka each day. Other members of the troupe

were cooks, fishermen, wood-gatherers, and water-carriers. In many respects the organization of ancient Hawaiian hula companies recalls that of the Arioi Society of the Society Islands.

During the period of training before graduation, pupils submitted themselves to severe discipline and many tapus, as did pupils in other Polynesian houses of learning. Isolated from the public, they completely dedicated themselves to their studies until the last day of school, which was marked by special ceremonies. After cleaning and decorating house and altar, the pupils cleaned themselves, made flower leis for the exercises, and prepared for the climax of their training. Then the manager called them to take part in the ceremonial eating of roast pig which he had approved as being properly prepared. Chanting, the troupe put their leis on Laka's altar before sitting down to the sacramental eating of the pork. Friends and novitiates chanted and clapped their hands. When the manager directed that a tapu-lifting chant be intoned, the graduates were at last pronounced ready for public performances.

A song worthy of their training and art was selected. Such a song was a name chant prepared to flatter and honor a chief or other important person to be present at the celebration. No word or idea with a sinister meaning could be included in such a chant, for it might cause the honored person bad luck. Oddly enough, the song given below refers to a surfrider falling off his board, which is called Maui. However, he rights himself and is not even drenched by the experience.

In this song, the poet honors Naihe, perhaps the same man who traced his descent from Maui. Naihe was a person "of strong character, but not a high chief. He was born in Kona and resided at Napoopoo. His mother was Ululani, his father Keawe-a-heulu, who was a celebrated general and strategist under Kamehameha" (Emerson 88, p. 35). Below is another reference to a man named Naihe, perhaps the same as the one just described (Remy, 225, pp. 11-12):

Some Hawaiians pretend that there exists another sacerdotal race besides that of Paao, more ancient even than that, and whose priests belonged at the same time to a race of chiefs. It is the family of Maui, probably of Maui-hope, the last of the seven children of Hina, the same who captured the sea-monster Piimoe. The origin of this race, to which Naihe of Kohala pretends to belong, is fabulous. Since the reign of Kamehameha, the priests of the order of Maui have lost favor.

Naihe's name chant, as translated by Emerson, follows:

The huge roller, roller that surges from Kona,  
Makes a loin-cloth fit for a lord;  
Far-reaching swell, my malo (loin-cloth) streams in the wind;  
Shape the crescent malo to the loins—  
The loin-cloth the sea, cloth for king's girdling.  
Stand, gird fast the loin-cloth!

Let the sun guide the board Halepo,  
Till Halepo lifts on the swell.  
It mounts the swell that rolls from Kahiki,  
From Wakea's age onrolling.  
The roller plumes and ruffles its crest.

Here comes the champion surf-man,  
While wave-ridden wave beats the island,  
A fringe of mountain-high waves.  
Spume lashes the Hiki-au altar—  
A surf this to ride at noontide.

The coral, horned coral, it sweeps far ashore.  
We gaze at the surf of Ka-kuhi-hewa.  
The surf-board snags, is shivered;  
Maui splits with a crash,  
Trembles, dissolves into slime.

Glossy the skin of the surf-man;  
Undrenched the skin of the expert;  
Wave-feathers fan the wave-rider.  
You've seen the grand surf of Puna, of Hilo.

## THE ORATORS

In most islands, an essential phase of a chief's education is elocution and the composition of speeches, chants, and songs for state occasions. He and others of noble birth also learn those versions of myths, genealogies, chants, and incantations which their teachers consider correct and authorized.

Maui is one of the important mythological beings a chief mentions in his speeches, which are sprinkled with the literary allusions Polynesians love to make and hear. To show off his learning and flatter the intelligence of his audience, the speaker intersperses a line or two from several chants associated with Maui or other prominent characters, or he mentions details peculiar to Maui myths.

His complacent listeners recognize the allusions with self-satisfaction, for the Maui myths are common property everywhere and whoever is interested learns and tells them. The audience notes approvingly whenever the chief is particularly deft and subtle in weaving into his speech an ancient mythological reference in a new and original way. The usage is familiar to anyone who has listened to a university commencement address.

If the speech is to honor a distinguished visitor, the orator likens the guest's accomplishments to the famous deeds of Maui and other great heroes. Frequently the orator and visitor claim these heroes as ancestors, much as a European might claim to be a descendant of Adam. Dr. Buck tells me of hearing a Samoan orator eulogize a European governor after a period of somewhat strained relations. The orator declared that just as Maui had

brought fire and cooked food to the Samoans the governor had brought many benefits to the people.

Unfortunately, few speeches and orations have been recorded. To illustrate how a chief uses a Maui myth to drive home his point, a speech is quoted below from John White's account of the daily life of the Kopura, a subtribe of the Puhi in North Island, New Zealand (White, 305, pp. 192-193). The oration is by a warrior whose child has been killed by the enemy. He is angry because in a war of revenge his slain enemies have been buried before he can eat them. Toward the end of his long harangue, he tells how cannibalism originated among the gods after they had separated their parents, Heaven and Earth. He thereby cites an impressive precedent for cannibalism, but adds that he has far better reason than the gods for cannibalism because he has lost a child, whereas the gods had not. He scornfully derides the priests with his mock modesty about his learning and their fear of taking revenge. He tells a myth about Maui to show that taking revenge on those who injure one is justified, even if that person is one's own wife. He promises the child's spirit that he will take revenge and let it enjoy the satisfaction of seeing its murderers humiliated. A crowd of spirits will keep it company soon. Again he shames the cautious elders by declaring that he will avenge his dead child himself and that he does not want their help.

The Tahitian orator's simile (Henry, 147, p. 79), "Like the breaking of a coconut are his words," also fits this Maori speaker.

The reference to revival within three days occurs in other Maori myths but probably represents Christian influence. Maui's wife may seem to behave perversely by killing herself after murdering Maui, but committing suicide to keep her husband company in the other world (Te Reinga, the home of Hine-nui-te-po) is good Maori custom.

The part of the speech referring to the origin of cannibalism and the Maui myth is quoted below.

Hence, I say, I am not the first to cause man's flesh to be eaten. If then the gods eat each other, and they were brothers, and were eaten for their cowardice, I ask, why was I not allowed to eat those who killed my child? The pain I feel is on account of the murder. The gods had not such pain. Compared to you, O priests! I am but a child in knowledge; but you know the gods teach me to take ample revenge for any wrong I receive.

Do you forget Maui? He was a god; he was also a man. He had a wife, Koke, who was a goddess. Maui was very proud, and did not like to be less goodlooking than his wife. His envy led him to ask her to exchange faces with him; but she refused, and in his rage he killed her by witchcraft. After three days, by her own power, she caused her life to come back, and killed him by witchcraft. She then died again to keep him company in the reinga (underworld). And in her malice against man, for it was the man part of Maui that caused her death, she became the guardian of the entrance to the reinga, and beats all who pass her. She is also the evil spirit who puts bad thoughts into the hearts of men, such as murder and all other evil.

If the gods teach me to be a man-eater, and to bear malice forever, shall I, O my fathers! be blamed if I take revenge when and how I can?

O spirit of my dear child! Harken to the weeping of thy father and mother! Do not enter the inner portion of the reinga, but wait near the door and watch me. Not many moons shall pass before I send a crowd of spirits to keep you company. Listen, O my son! You shall see the dead, and hear their cry, and the noise that their flesh makes whilst cooking. My old teeth are not so blunt but they can bite the flesh of those I kill.

Go, my fathers, to your own places. I will not dig up the dead you killed and buried. No, my fathers! I could eat them now, though they would have been better fresh; but they shall be sacred because of your word. Go, and let me sit in my own place. I will not kill myself; I shall not die soon. I do not ask you to help me. You know the proverb that says, "The anger of relatives is a fire that burns fiercely;" and another that says, "The hand alone can get food and to spare for its own body." I can get ample revenge for my sorrow. Go, O my fathers! go!

## THE GENEALOGISTS AND POLITICIANS

Politicians of the civilized world employ eulogistic methods comparable to the Polynesian when they liken themselves or their candidates to Napoleon, or Caesar, or George Washington. Polynesian chiefs, however, inherit the right to have orators compare them with great culture heroes and creators of ancient Polynesia, for they are ancestors.

A powerful parvenu chief has an impressive genealogy invented for him. Napoleon would have envied this procedure, for he is reported having regretted that the spirit of the times prevented his claiming to be a son of Jupiter Ammon. A Manuan (Samoan) talking chief would have suited his needs. But, like a high chief, Napoleon would have had to guard against the blackmail of his high-born publicity manager. A talking chief defends his high chief's right to certain privileges and preferred ranking against claims of other talking chiefs for their superiors. He changes and invents genealogies and myths to prove the origin of his superior's title (Nelson, 202, p. 124). Elaborate punning is "a convenient mechanism for the continuous manufacture of some mythological validation of social position" (Mead, 194, pp. 135-136). In ancient Hawaii, a college of heraldry kept and manipulated genealogies for political preferment and titles to land.

Besides establishing land claims and social rank, Polynesians use genealogies to explain the origin and development of the physical world. One Maori genealogy (Shortland, 239, p. 12) begins with The Night (Te Po) which begat the Hanging Night which begat the Drifting Night which begat the Moaning Night. In the next phase of development the Powers of Light emerge; and after them come the Powers of Cosmos. Then Heaven (Rangi) and Earth (Papa) are born and marry. Their children are primeval gods like Tane, Tu, Tangaroa, Tawhiri, and others.

## THE PERIOD OF MAUI

Maui is neither a primal god in Polynesian genealogies nor a child of the primal parents. The Maori do not include him among the children of Rangi and Papa. He was born several generations later. He is not among the first Marquesan gods of creation who emerged after the separation of "the level above" and "the level below" (Handy, 142, p. 244). Moui, listed among the primal Marquesan gods as the deity of circumcision, should not be confused with Maui the earth-fisher (Delmas, 78, pp. 41, 48). Though "Te Maui" is one of the four functioning Tongarevan gods, he is not one of the 11 children of the primal parents, Atea and Hakahotu, who represent the upper and lower strata of the world, comparable to Rangi and Papa (Buck, 272, pp. 86-87).

Maui usually appears not earlier than three or four generations after the birth of the children of the primeval parents. For example, the genealogy of a noble family of a Maori Tuhoe tribe (Best, 30, p. 761) begins with Rangi and Papa, whose child was Tane, father of Hine-ahu-one, the first woman. Tane married this daughter and begat two more girls who also became his wives. Next on the genealogy is Muri-ranga-whenua whose jaw-bone Maui was later to take for a weapon. Muri's child was Taranga, parent of the Maui. From Maui-tikitiki the line of descent is traced down to the most recent chief in this distinguished genealogy.

Because Maui roams ubiquitously through the entire oral literature of Polynesia regardless of its setting in time, he is difficult to classify according to the usual divisions of Polynesian traditional history, whether one uses the divisions outlined by Buck (273, p. 20) or that defined by Maori priests.

According to Buck's classification, the three principal periods in the traditions are the mythical, the migratory, and the settlement. The first era, which from the native point of view is the period of genesis, covers the creation or evolutionary development of the world, the gods, and mankind, and the life of the people in their semi-legendary homeland usually called Hawaiki. The migratory period covers the traditions about dispersing from Hawaiki and going to a new homeland. The settlement period has two eras, the pre-European and the post-European.

The Maori of New Zealand and the Moriori of the Chathams distinguish two divisions of time in their traditional history. In the Chatham period called The Cloud-Bearing Wind (Ko Matangiao) the Polynesians still lived in Hawaiki. This was when the world, the gods, and human beings were evolving or being created. In the later period called The Hearing of the Ears (Hokorongotiring) the people left Hawaiki to discover and settle new lands (Luomala, 178).

Maui bridges the gap between the two periods. His biographers describe him as having been born in the period of genesis, though relatively late since

he is not a child of the primal gods. He is part of the later period because he fished up the islands and became an ancestor of its present population. He belongs to that indeterminate time of transition and change peculiar to the culture hero and transformer when the world, as it is now, began to take shape. Through raising the sky, stealing fire, and regulating the speed of the sun, Maui helped make the world what it is today.

Some islands distinguish between superior, sacred traditions and the common, inferior versions. The myths about Maui in New Zealand occupy a midway position (Potae, 212, p. 1), being above the status of ordinary folk tales though popular and void of tapu. They are inferior to the cosmogonic and anthropogenic myths taught in the schools of learning. To some priests, genealogies of deities born prior to Maui are too sacred for commoners to hear (Smith, 250, vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 146). The demi-god was discussed formerly both in the schools of learning and in popular assemblies. Though a distinguished Maori priest (Smith, 250, vol. 3, pt. 1) dismissed the myth about Maui fishing up New Zealand as a "mere winter's night tale" told for amusement at the fireside, he often referred to Maui myths to illustrate his points and clarify obscure ancient sayings when he recited the lore of the House of Learning (Whare-wananaga). Maui myths are more than campfire tales of the common folk after all! No sacred story is told at the fireside because common fires are used to prepare common food (Smith, 251, p. 116). Such food and sacredness are violently incompatible.

Smith, commenting on the Maui myths told him by the priests of the Whare-wananaga (250, vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 174), says "...it is perhaps a little doubtful whether the Sages of old would have considered them as strictly belonging to the 'Kauwae-runga,' or 'Things Celestial.' But—if we are to trust to the genealogies and the apparent belief of the old Priests—the events occurred within a few generations of the birth of man! and scarcely belong to what we may call the strictly Historical Period—the 'Kauwae-raro,' or the 'Things Terrestrial'."

Literally, Kauwae-runga and Kauwae-raro, priestly terms for two types and periods of knowledge, mean, respectively, Upper Jaw and Lower Jaw. Upper Jaw knowledge pertains "to the gods, the heavens, the origins of all things, the creation of man, the science of astronomy, and the record of time, etc." Lower Jaw knowledge concerns "the history, properly so called, of the people, their genealogies, migrations, the *tapu* and all knowledge pertaining to terrestrial matters." (See Smith, 250, vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 79.)

#### MAUI, THE ANCESTOR

Frequently Polynesians attach the beginning of a distinguished family line to an exploit of Maui as a secondary explanatory element, secondary only in the sense that the myth is older than the rationalizing conclusion which is a

local or regional addition. Because the explanatory element accounts for the origin of distinguished family lines, it acts as a potent factor in preserving the myth to which it is appended.

Polynesians often call Maui their ancestor, the first man, the father of the first human being in an island, or their Adam, because he fished up land. More than any other myth in the cycle, that based on earth-fishing has been used to promote the prestige of the leading family of an island, or of all families in some cases.

#### NEW ZEALAND

A Maori priest of the Whare-wananaga who told how Maui fished up New Zealand stated, "All the people who dwell here on this island and right away to Hawaiki, are all descendants of those Mauis" (Smith, 250, vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 182). The Arawa say (Grey, 131), "But though Maui was killed, his offspring survived. Some of these are at Hawaiki, and some are at Ao-tea but the greater part of them remained at Hawaiki." Hawaiki is the old homeland while Ao-tea or Ao-tea-roa (The-Long-White-Cloud) is a poetic name for New Zealand.

Maori South Islanders claim geographical and genealogical superiority to the North Islanders. South Island was Maui's canoe, they say, from which he fished up North Island. With him in the canoe were the first people. After he had founded the Raka tribe, named in honor of his parent (Raka, Taraka, Taranga), Maui went back to Hawaiki (Beattie, 19, vol. 24, p. 104).

However, tribes on the east coast of North Island lay a very strong claim to Maui as their ancestor too. They call themselves the people of Maui and trace their descent directly from the youngest Maui (Maui-potiki) through Toi-the-wood-eater, a famous navigator (Gudgeon, 139, vol. 4, pp. 177-183; Elder, 86, p. 196; Best, Tuhoe, 30, p. 761).

A chief of the Ngati-Uepohatu, an east coast Maori tribe, traced his genealogy 31 generations back to Maui (Gudgeon, 136, p. 218). The Ngati-Kahungunu, descendants of people who came to New Zealand in the Taki-tumu canoe, state that family quarrels over gardens and news that their ancestor Maui had fished up New Zealand which they were curious to see led to the launching of the Takitumu (White, 306, vol. 2, p. 193). Anciently, east coast women showed descent from Maui-potiki by wearing a distinctive but undescribed headdress of the style called *rakai* (Gudgeon, 138, p. 49).

Many genealogies from New Zealand trace descent not from the youngest Maui but from his oldest brother Maui-mua (Best, 30, pp. 761, 681, 682, 925). According to one Maori tradition, Maui-mua killed and ate Maui-potiki, the first case of cannibalism in the world (Fornander, 104, vol. 6, p. 259).

## CENTRAL POLYNESIA

Maui is called an ancestor not only in New Zealand but in other parts of Polynesia. In certain Rarotongan genealogies which name almost a hundred ancestors back from A.D. 1900, the Maui family appears between the seventieth and eightieth names (Smith, 243). Smith, an early authority on Polynesian culture, tended to regard each name as representing one generation. Present-day anthropologists do not share his confidence in the historicity of the genealogies, particularly the early parts of them. It is important to note, however, regardless of the reliability of the genealogies, that Polynesians highly regarded the Maui family, as evidenced by its place on the genealogies.

In Mangaia, Maui-tikitiki is in the fifth generation (Buck, 274, p. 25). Austral Islanders put him on genealogies of their chiefs, and now identify his mother with the mother of Adam (Aitken, 5, p. 5). In the Tuamotus, Fakahina Island regards Maui as one of its first men (Audran, 10, vol. 28, p. 164; 11, p. 230), while Faaïti Island also names him as an ancestor. Society Islanders, according to Orsmond, believe Maui to be one of their first inhabitants (Ahnne, 4). He became the father of the Mangarevans after he had fished up the islands and raised the sky (Dumont d'Urville, 84, vol. 3, p. 387).

## WESTERN POLYNESIA

Western Polynesia, no less than the eastern region, considers Maui as an illustrious name on royal genealogies. In Tokelau, Maui and Tikitiki, who are regarded as two different persons, compete on genealogies to be named the father of the first man. Variant genealogies put them later in time, as descendants of the first man, not as his ancestors (Macgregor, 185, pp. 16-24).

After fishing up Futuna, Maui-alonga, of whom nothing more is known, had 12 sons and three daughters by his wife Atalua. The youngest son, Fakavelikele, though once banished for committing incest with his sister, became the supreme divinity of the island when his inspiration guided a prince to remarkable success in war. A variant myth of Fakavelikele's origin names Salo and Mango, not Atalua and Maui-alonga, as parents of the militant deity and five other sons and a daughter. The statement of Bourdin, an early missionary (34, pp. 435, 441), that Fakavelikele displaced Maui as the supreme god in the Futuna pantheon is disputed by Burrows (45, pp. 27, 105, 106, 112-113). Burrows says that Fakavelikele was indeed first in spiritual significance, because he was the rain god and had reincarnated himself in his descendants, the powerful warrior chiefs of the Tua district, but Maui was never a supreme god—only a culture hero or a primal demi-god.

Bourdin's myth illustrates the process of incorporating Maui into genealogy to give it distinction and to unite the legends of a family line with myths

about the physical origin of the island itself. A local Futunan personage, Fakavelikele, has risen through his spiritual power from an ancestral god of a single district to the rank of the principal god of the entire island. Apparently, a descendant of Fakavelikele, or one of his priests, judged Maui important enough to be named the father of the god of the conquering district. The historian thereby gave Fakavelikele a specious antiquity and increased his prestige by relating him to the older being. Maui as the earth-fisher was the first to see and to step on Futuna, so Fakavelikele's admirers linked their hero with Maui. The rise of Fakavelikele also illustrates how some of the widely known Polynesian gods, demi-gods, and mythological characters probably originated. The followers of Fakavelikele, who may have been a deified chief, spread his worship from one district to another in an island through warfare.

The first Tongan *matapule* (ceremonial attendant of a titled chief) to bear the title of Tui Motuliki or Tui Talau was the son of Sina, from Fiji, who became pregnant from stepping over the bones of Maui and his father who had lost their lives slaying a Fijian cannibal dog (Collocott, 61, p. 234). The child, the first to be called Tui Motuliki, was even greater than the Maui. Maui also helped start Tongan lineages in an even more indirect fashion. He and his brothers brought women from the underworld as wives for the first men, whom Tangaroa had created recently from worms (Collocott, 62, pp. 169-170).

In Uvea, a prominent line of descent goes back, not to the earth-fishing myth, but to the sky-raising myth. Maui met a woman, Fuilaoa, who was dissatisfied with the low sky. In exchange for a drink of water (euphemism for their relationship) Maui pushed up the sky three times before the demanding woman was satisfied with its height. The child of Maui and Fuilaoa heads the genealogy of the leading Uvean chiefs (Burrows, 46, p. 163).

Samoans who colonized Rotuma have worked Maui into the Raho royal line by claiming that a princess in the Samoan family line bore twins, one a girl and the other a stillbirth called Moea-tikitiki (Macgregor, 184). In this way a tradition about the historical colonization of Rotuma by a Samoan family has been assimilated to the literary pattern of mythology.

No definite native reference to Maui as an ancestor appears, so far as I know, in Tongareva, the Marquesas, Pukapuka, Niue, Samoa, Manihiki, and Rakahanga. On the western periphery of the distribution of the Maui legends, the people of New Hebrides and Leueneuwa (Ontong Java) called Maui their ancestor (Sarfert and Damm, 230, p. 342).

#### HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

Hawaiian tradition states that Oahu was peopled by Maui and his wife who came there in a boat and paddled along the coast beating a drum as part

of the ceremony of taking possession (Tyerman and Bennet, 197, vol. 1, p. 433). The Hawaiian Ulu genealogy includes Maui and his brothers in the twenty-second generation from the primal parents, Wakea and Papa (Fornander, 103, vol. 1, p. 191).

One of the greatest examples of how the recital of Maui's deeds and the inclusion of his name in a genealogy added prestige to a family and helped activate their mana is in the Kumulipo chant of the creation of the world. It is the genealogy of King Kalakaua, who published the native text, and of his sister Queen Liliuokalani, who published a translation she began in 1895 while imprisoned during the overthrow of her government. The Kumulipo is said to have been composed about 1700 to dedicate and consecrate a royal child born during the Makahiki festival and called Lono in honor of the god who presided over the period. It is thought to have been recited in honor of Captain Cook when he arrived in Hawaii, in 1789, because the Hawaiians believed him to be the reincarnation of Lono. The chant tells first of the origin and development of the spirit world and then of the world of human beings, the ancestors of the young chief elevated to the rank of a god.

The chant is a family spell to transmit or rather to activate the inherited mana latent in the person for whom the spell is chanted. Each genealogical name is a link in the chain through which the activating energy of mana flows down to the newest member of the family. The chanter recites the genealogical succession from the era of primeval night to the present, and intersperses the list with descriptive passages about the ancestors, of which that about Maui is the longest. It is a good example of Polynesian emphasis on the magical power of words and names, and of how the present depends on the past for the efficacy of its magic.

J. F. G. Stokes, discussing the mechanism of the composition of the Kumulipo and the incantational purpose of the genealogy, writes (266, pp. 7-8, 12-13, 1930):

According to the Queen's statement to her companion [Mrs. Lahilahi Webb] of later days, the chant was committed to writing by her brother in 1856, when a national celebration brought old people to Honolulu from all parts of the islands. These old people supplied the information, but it is not clear if the chant was supposed to represent the recital of one native authority, or a combination of the recitals of many . . . It is important to note . . . that it is a composition recorded and believed in by Hawaiians, and that it is the only Hawaiian document of its kind which has reached the public with such weight of authority behind it . . .

We find in the Kumulipo chant the name of every form or being apparently known to Hawaiians, arranged in progression from the state of chaos through all known and many other stages of growth, creation, evolution or generation, through gods and human beings, right down the line to the newly-born chiefly babe. There is nothing which may be regarded as a prayer. The mere recitation of names forms a chain along which the accumulative *mana* of ages untold may be moved into the recipient shell [the one who is being consecrated] . . . These names, of course, may only be used by and for the proper person—a fact which explains the Queen's reference to the chant as being "her special family property."

This poetic version of the Maui cycle, a small part of the Kumulipo, satisfies the three essentials of an epic poem as defined by Aristotle—dignified theme, organic unity, and orderly progression of action. However, its summary character and lack of elaboration mark it as an extremely simple example of an epic poem. Only the Hawaiian Archipelago has the entire Maui cycle in the form of a chant, though it is merely a cryptic and often obscure oral shorthand of Maui's deeds.

The hero's adventures appear in the fifteenth of the 16 eras described in the Kumulipo. The sixteenth era begins with the line, "Maui was the man and Hina-ke-aloha-ila was the wife" and continues the genealogy down to Lono. An appendix carries the line into the period of Queen Liliuokalani and her relatives.

Maui's grandparents were Waolena and Mahuie (Mahuika), the latter being female, as in New Zealand. This is the only reference to Mahuika in Hawaiian mythology and the name alone survives. The association with fire or any other function than that of being Maui's grandmother has been lost. However, although the Kumulipo does not mention it, Hawaiians retain the idea that originally fire was hidden from human beings by a selfish supernatural character related to Maui, who steals fire for mortal beings. The secret of fire was known only to several mudhens until Maui wrung the knowledge of making fire from the smallest. Interestingly, his mother, according to the Kumulipo, is Hina-of-the-fire (Hina-a-ke-ahi) and, according to Westervelt (302, p. 18), the sacred mudhen used by Maui as bait to fish up land belongs to her.

Polynesian myths seldom clearly differentiate among the various Hinas. Frequently their functions fuse, so that each Hina, regardless of her particular epithet, seems to reveal another aspect of one and the same person. The processes of fusing and of separating functions and personality aspects to create a distinct character go on simultaneously.

Hina-of-the-fire and her husband Akalana had four children: Maui-the-first (Maui-mua), Maui-the-middle (Maui-waena), Maui-the-littlest (Maui-kiikii), and Maui-of-the-loincloth (Maui-a-ka-malo). Maui-of-the-loincloth, the hero, was born as an egg which hatched into a bird that next assumed human form, a common origin in Polynesian myths (Westervelt, 302, pp. 204-205). Hina was surprised at laying an egg which hatched into a cock. It would seem, however, that since she was related to the mudhens, it might have occurred to her as a genetic possibility! She was surprised even at being pregnant. She perhaps forgot the man's loincloth she found on the beach one day and put on, a symbolic reference to her romantic meeting with a stranger. Another story (Westervelt, 302, p. x) is that instead of sending her servants to gather sea moss she herself went one day and found a red loincloth which she wrapped around her waist. Her

husband, Akalana, to whom she showed it, called it a gift of the gods and a sign that their next child would have mana.

Two of Hina's four brothers, the Kia, did not like her peculiar offspring, and the hero's first great adventure or "strife," as the translator calls it, was to fight and defeat them. In this adventure, Maui was seriously injured and lost blood.

His next three adventures revolve about his fetching a bunch of black stemmed 'awa (*Piper methysticum*) from Kane and Kanaloa, with whom he then quarreled over the strainer and the bamboo utensil used to prepare the drink. The references to these adventures are not clear, but in Rotuma Island (Macgregor, 184), Maui's father, to test his courage, sent him for a giant root of the 'awa, which was guarded by vicious ants. He killed the ants and got the root. Next his father sent him to gather bananas guarded by giant mudhens. He got the bananas and killed the birds, keeping the gizzard of one to use for bait when he fished up land. In Hawaiian myths, he steals the mudhens' bananas before getting the secret of fire, and he uses a mudhen for fishing bait.

His fifth adventure, according to the Kumulipo, was to engage in a wrist-turning contest. Perhaps this was one of a series of contests that Maui had with Kane and Kanaloa, for a Hawaiian myth (Ratzel, 222, vol. 1, p. 315) refers to such magical contests between Maui and the gods, which included games of intellect and physical skill.

In the sixth chapter in Maui's career, he asked Hina the name of his father, a familiar question in Polynesian hero myths that reflects Polynesian concern with genealogies and the difficulty of knowing the identity of one's parents due to the customs of adoption and of abandoning unwanted children, particularly those born to parents of different social classes. It is also popular because of the wishful thinking on the part of narrators and listeners who dream out loud through the myths of the possibility that they too are the children of chiefs and not their humble parents. The myths describe the stereotyped questioning and answering between mother and son about the father. The mother first denies that the child has a father; next she calls various natural elements the father; finally she names the father. Giving the boy royal tokens left with her by his father, she sends him to gain the recognition of his influential parent from whom he will receive the privileges of rank. The plot is one of the most popular of Polynesian themes. The fantasy of not being the child of one's humble parents, but of royalty, strongly appeals to a society that values high descent, grants the highly born many privileges and credits them with superior magical authority.

Hina sent Maui to his father—whether actually Akalana or some other celebrated character like the god Kane is not stated in the Kumulipo—for the

special hook, Manai-a-ka-lani, to draw up the islands beneath the sea. In New Zealand, Maui went to Muri-ranga-whenua, his subterranean ancestor, for a jawbone from which to fashion the earth-fishing hook. In Tonga, he went to an elderly fisherman, whose wife he seduced to win the secret of how to single out the magical hook. Maui-of-the-loincloth not only obtained the sacred hook, according to Hawaiian myths, but also stole Hina's sacred mudhen for bait. The Kumulipo refers to the mudhen, or perhaps Hina herself, as the "bird sister of Pimoe," the fish. Hina-of-the-fire is herself sometimes described as the sister of Luaehu, the ulua which Maui caught and ate when he got back to shore after fishing up land (Fornander, 104, vol. 5, pp. 266-273). This Luaehu the Kumulipo calls Mahanaulueho. According to one version of the myth (Westervelt, 302, p. 123), Maui picked up a bailer in the ocean which was transformed into a beautiful girl, Hina-a-keka, whom he married. Marquesans also say that Maui married the girl he found at sea (Elbert, 85). Like the Kumulipo, Marquesans tell how monsters carried her off and Maui rescued her. The eight-eyed bat (Peapea-maka-walu) carried her off, but Maui entered the body of a bird or made a kite in which to travel to rescue Hina and kill the bat. He drank the eight eyes of the bat in 'awa at a victory feast to gain for himself the bat's supernatural power.

The next great deed of Maui, according to the Kumulipo, was to snare the sun. On his way to the island of Maui to the house of the sun (Hale-a-ka-la) he was insulted by a man named Moemoe. After he had snared the sun, slowed it up, and made it agree to go slowly for six months and fast the other six months, he returned to Moemoe whom he turned into stone.

His old quarrels with Kane and Kanaloa were renewed after this adventure, and the three again competed in unnamed trickery which took them to Hawaii, Maui, Kauai, and Oahu. Maui met his death in these contests.

The following translation, adapted from that of Beckwith (21, pp. 227-229), is less obscure than Liliuokalani's version (167, pp. 80-82).

Waalena was the husband, Mahuie was the wife;  
Akalana was the husband, Hina-of-the-fire was the wife.  
Maui-the-first was born, Maui-the-middle was born,  
Maui-kiikii was born, Maui-of-the-loincloth was born.  
Girded with the loincloth of Akalana,  
Hina-of-the-fire became pregnant and bore a cock.  
Hina delivered her child in the form of an egg.  
She had not lived with a cock  
But a cock was born to her.  
The cock crowed "alala!" Hina was puzzled,  
She had not lived with a man but a child was born,  
A mysterious child for Hina-of-the-fire.  
Kia-loa and Kia-a-ka-poko were both angry.

They were the brothers of Hina,  
Two of the four Kia.  
Maui fought; those Kia fell;  
Red blood flowed from the forehead of Maui.  
That was Maui's first strife.  
He fetched the bunch of black-stemmed 'awa from Kane and Kanaloa,  
That was Maui's second strife.  
The third strife was the quarrel over the strainer;  
The fourth was that over the bamboo of Kane and Kanaloa;  
The fifth strife was that at the gathering for the wrist-turning contest.  
The sixth had to do with his descent;  
Maui asked who was his father,  
Hina denied that he had a father,  
The loincloth of Kalana was his father.  
Hina-of-the-fire wanted fish;  
He learned fishing; Hina commanded,  
"Go to your father,  
There is the line, the hook.  
Manai-a-ka-lani is the hook  
For grappling the islands together, out of the ocean."  
He seized the great mudhen of Hina,  
The bird sister of Pimoe;  
This was the seventh strife of Maui.  
The mischievous demi-god it was who hooked  
The jaw, the mouth as it opened, of Pimoe,  
The fish that was lord of the island that shakes the ocean.  
Pimoe was pulled ashore dead by Maui.  
He had pity for Mahanauluehu,  
The child of Pimoe,  
Maui brought him ashore and devoured all but the tail,  
Pimoe lived through his tail,  
Mahanauluehu was the tail he lived through.  
Kane and Kanaloa were shaken from their foundation,  
With the ninth strife of Maui.  
Peapea carried away Hina-ke-ka.  
The bat god was this Peapea.  
This was the last strife of Maui,  
He scratched out the eyes of the eight-eyed bat.  
The strife ended with Moemoe.  
Everyone knows of the strife of Maui with the Sun,  
With the loop of the snaring cord of Maui;  
Summer became the Sun's,  
Winter became Maui's.  
He drank the muddy waters of the plain  
Of Kane and Kanaloa,  
Strove by trickery,  
Around Hawaii, around Maui,  
Around Kauai, around Oahu;  
At Kahaluu is the afterbirth buried, at Waikane the navel string,  
He died at Hakipuu at Kualoa,  
Maui-of-the-loincloth,  
The famous demigod of the island,  
A chief indeed!

## THE FOOD-GETTERS

## MAUI AND MANA

Mana, to define simply a complex Polynesian concept, is dynamic spiritual power. Its presence in animate beings and inanimate objects is revealed by their supernormal qualities and accomplishments. Customarily, mana is strongest in the first-born of a family because he is nearest in descent to the gods who transmit mana to their descendants. In the Arawa version of the Maui myth, Maui-mua (Maui-the-first or first-born) is listened to and respected by his younger brothers when he gives them advice. In the Society Islands, he is one of the first priests of the newly created world.

However, a junior member of a family or a person of low rank may assume important duties if men of superior birth prove lacking in courage, judgment, generosity and accomplishment, the qualities indicative of mana. The concept of mana worked as a leaven in the feudal society of Polynesia and its theoretically rigid class distinctions based on birth. One could lose mana as well as acquire it.

That personal mana, even in any eastern Polynesian archipelago which emphasized primogeniture, does not depend exclusively on birth, is brilliantly shown by Maui himself. Though often described as the youngest of many brothers, hence farthest removed from the divinity whose mana is the birth-right of the eldest, Maui surpasses them in supernatural power. According to native reasoning, how otherwise could he do all the astonishing and marvelous things he did?

Success in Polynesia is not due to perfect craftsmanship and clever inventions alone. A man has more to battle than visible difficulties. If he does not know magical formulas and rites to control and bend to his will the innumerable gods and genii, he will never succeed. Had Maui not had more magical charms at his command than Mahuika, he would have perished no matter how extraordinary his deceit, courage, and swiftness of foot. Most of his conflicts with the gods are battles of one magician against another. This is most obvious when, as in the Hawaiian Islands, Pukapuka, and Rotuma, for example, Maui engages in contests of wits and skill either with the gods or a marplot. One game or test of courage follows another. That his career is one long battle of mana, is less obvious in the more widely known adventures of fishing up land, snaring the sun, and stealing fire because some author-raconteurs have exerted their literary talent upon them to hide the nakedness of the magical conflict and concentrate on personalities.

Zeus hurled thunderbolts at his family, but Maui and Mahuika throw magical formulas at each other while they wrestle, fight with coconut-leaf clubs, or compete to see which can fly the higher in the sky. Mahuika, despite having the rank of a deity, is as dependent on powerful charms as is the boy

from the earth. The deity loses because his magic is inferior to Maui's. No wonder Maui's older brothers once said to him in New Zealand, "Brother, the base of your forehead is the repose of genius" (Poata, 209, p. 3).

Tikao, a Maori of the Ngai-Tahu of New Zealand, refers to Maui in illustrating what mana means (Beattie, 20, pp. 95-96):

Mana is all round the world, and Tawhiri-matea, Ruaimoko, Maui, and others are in the centre of the circle and get hold of this mana and direct the elements and make the weather. The Hine family hold the winds by mana. No one can rub it out. Maui is not dead, but Hine-nui-te-po (goddess of death) took his mana and it still exists. The gods stand back to back doing the work of the world—good or bad—and doing it by mana, which cannot be put out or overcome.

Mana holds from the beginning to the end of the world, and it keeps the world going. Personal mana can be overcome and annihilated, but that of the gods cannot . . .

Tikao's opinions as to the importance of Maui might be contradicted by older authorities.

Maui's successful application of magical spells and rites has led the Maori to use the term *maui* as a synonym for witchcraft. Other islands also recognize his remarkable mana.

Maui is not a man of the battlefield. One would never know from the myths what bloody battles were fought in real life between tribes on the same island, for they are not mentioned in connection with Maui. He is not a leader of great expeditions of discovery and exploration. His exploits are seen from the standpoint of a villager. What is the sun but a big bird that Maui has stalked, snared, and crippled? What is the new island but a big fish he has caught with a new kind of bait? Very homelike are the supplementary incidents that even bigger fish got away because the line broke or someone talked and broke a spell.

It is this homely but contrarily promethean quality of Maui's career which makes the hero a favorite of the common man. Magical chants referring to him and his adventures concern, for the most part, matters of domestic life. His marvelous deeds form the patterns for the way in which present activities should proceed if they are to be as successful as Maui's efforts. Maui set a successful and desirable precedent on a supernatural scale which lesser magicians can follow.

Records from several islands, New Zealand particularly, tell how people try to convert some of Maui's mana to their own use. Words that Maui used in his exploits were powerfully effective as his success proves. His descendants hope that if they repeat them exactly, they too will get the results they want. These spells have been handed down from one generation to another as part of the Maui myths or in connection with the activity with which the spells are used.

Spells, like the Kumulipo, invoke his name or the memory of his deeds to

link his success with the action under way. When the names of Maui and his brothers appear in an incantation it does not mean necessarily that they are being prayed to for assistance. The mere recital of their names lends additional efficacy to the chants. Alas for the chanter who omits a name or who even hesitates unsure of the sequence! If the power of the chant were thereby merely nullified, little would be lost. Instead it becomes an instrument of punishment as Maui's father and Tama-te-kapua's son knew, according to the Arawa, when each forgot a name from chants of purification.

Direct prayers to Maui are uncommon. The best known occasion when Maui and his brothers were invoked in prayer was on the journey of the Arawa canoe to New Zealand (Smith, 242, p. 289). Ngatoro-i-rangi, high priest of the expedition, became angry with Captain Tama-te-kapua and called upon five Maui brothers to wreck the ship, or as the myth euphemistically puts it, cause it to descend to the gaping mouth of the monster who dwells on the ocean bottom and causes tides. Ngatoro-i-rangi was dissuaded, however, from carrying out his program of black magic, and the Arawa proceeded safely on its way.

#### MAUI AND AGRICULTURE

The Maori often use Maui's name in connection with chants and rites for planting sweet potatoes (*kumara*), an activity surrounded with tapus indicative of the importance of the tubers in Maori life (Tregear, 290). When Maui takes the form of a pigeon to fly to the underworld, he finds his parents working with many people in their gardens. Some versions (White, 306, vol. 2) state that Maui lights on his father's digging stick. After making himself known and taking the form of a human being, he teaches his father the following chant, a rhythmic work song:

Koia, koia ko Tara, ko Tara, ko Tara-rau-riki.  
Ki mi a Maui, ka hara i te whitu, te whitu, me te waru.  
Tukua te taupuru, tataia te aro raki  
E tau, koia, koia.

The translation of a longer variant of the same work song follows (White, 306, vol. 2, pp. 82-83):

Yes, yes, it is Tara-rau-riki—  
Rau-riki, to whom Maui says,  
It is wrong to cultivate on  
The seventh and eighth moon.  
Let the year roll round  
And let the bright sky come.  
Then—yes, then, then  
Spear the birds and snare the birds,  
Even in the presence of Taraka.

The summer wanes,  
And days of weariness arrive,  
Then—yes, then call the dogs,  
And with sudden fright let her  
Who lost her spouse  
Stand awe-struck in the world.  
Let all the women start  
To see the goblin.  
But, no! Call the dogs.  
I once again revisit  
This my home, and join  
In labour of abundant years.

The chant is obscure. The first part advises as to the months when one should not cultivate the land and when it is permissible to hunt birds. The chanter, in calling for the hunting dogs, obliquely refers to Maui's exploit of turning his brother-in-law into a dog and letting his sister "who lost her spouse stand awe-struck in the world." According to one version of this adventure (White, 306, vol. 2, p. 85), Maui is angry because his brother-in-law sleeps on sunny hillsides and leaves part of a *kumara* bed uncultivated. Curiously enough, when the brother-in-law says, "How annoying for us, to have to stay here in the gardens! We will now leave this work and return some other day and finish it," Maui agrees and joins him on the hilltops, the names of which are preserved for posterity.

Pipiwaharaura, the Shining Cuckoo, seen at planting time, is called the bird of Maui. Its song repeats words that Maui chanted when he perched as a pigeon on the handle of his father's spade (Beattie, 19, vol. 28, pp. 48-49). Tuhoe tribes designate the handle of the spade as *whakatau miromiro* because they say Maui perched there in the form of the bird *miromiro* (Best, 30, p. 938). The digging stick, the principal agricultural tool of the Maori, has a top shaped like a crescent which is sometimes adorned with feathers. A spell called "the song of Maui, the song of plenty," takes the tapu off those who have been planting sweet potatoes.

Other chants associate Maui and his brothers with a woman named Pani, "the mother of kumara." Pani-of-the-seed-potatoes (Pani-tinaku) is one of her descriptive names. Some Maori narrators state that she is the paternal aunt and foster mother of the Maui children; her husband is Rongo, also called Rongo-maui and Maui-whare-kino (Maui-of-the-evil-house). When Maui-tikitiki taunts him with not supplying the family with food, Rongo-maui goes to his brother Whanui in the sky and gets *kumara* from him by means of a charm. Whanui is the star Vega, whose rising now marks the beginning of the harvest of sweet potatoes. Rongo-maui returns to earth with the stolen *kumara* hidden within his body. When he impregnates Pani with the seeds of the sweet potato, she bears *kumara* children. These she cooks for the Maui's but keeps the source of her food secret.

Maui-tikitiki, ever curious, spies on her. He delays her by hiding her garment, then quietly follows her as she goes to the spring where she gives birth to the food. Disgusted he hurries home to tell the news to his brothers. They react violently. They leave home and migrate to distant lands. Maui-mua comes to New Zealand. Pani, ashamed at being discovered, pulls up a plant which covers the entry to the underworld and flees down the path out of the sight of her children. Later, Maui-tikitiki takes the form of a pigeon, goes to the underworld in search of her, and finds her tending gardens of sweet potatoes (Best, 26, p. 48; 30, pp. 825-835; 31, pp. 49-53).

Many variants of the story exist. Sometimes Maui-tikitiki himself is Pani's husband; sometimes she is said to be his mother. Obviously the story above is a variant of the familiar story of Maui's visit to the underworld, reinterpreted to account for the origin of sweet potatoes.

Another Maori version (White, 306, vol. 2, p. 81) of the Maui cycle states that when Maui is reared in the heavens after being rescued as a castoff mis-birth he learns to tend gardens of *kumara* and yams. Then his ancestors send him to earth to teach his parents to plant these foods with the appropriate rites and chants, one of which is given above. Another myth has Maui steal *kumara* from Hine-nui-te-po (Shortland, 238, p. 44).

Not only does Maui figure in the introduction of the sweet potato to the earth and the beneficent chants and rites for planting, harvesting, and the removal of tapus from these sacred activities, he also knows black magic to destroy the fields of his enemies. Whanui sends caterpillars, the most destructive pest of *kumara*, to destroy Rongo-maui's gardens. Maui-tikitiki likewise fights with the god Maru-i-te-whare-aitu, according to three Maori tribes (White, 306, vol. 2). Each tries to destroy the other's fields with magically caused frosts, blights, and caterpillars. When Maru destroys all of Maui's *kumara*, but manages to salvage a part of his own, he goes to a temple on a hill top to offer fruit and grass in a thanksgiving to the gods there. Maui kills him before he has time to make the offering. Some narrators say he even blights the crops of his father and Mahuika with his black magic (White, 306, vol. 2).

These obscure and variable myths about Maui, Pani, and the origin of *kumara* recall the old Maori proverb that "not one man alone was awake in ancient times." Parts of the chants invoking Maui and Pani have such archaic and abstruse words and phrases that no Maori today can translate them. That, however, does not alter native belief in the efficacy of the words.

References occasionally appear in New Zealand literature to Maui-rangi (Maui-of-the-sky). It is not clear whether the Maori identify him with Maui-tikitiki. Maui-tikitiki's deeds frequently involve stars, winds, and other atmospheric phenomena, and his name often appears in charms to control them.

Sky gods have reared him. Polack (211, vol. 1, p. 121) writes that Maui-rangi, the "Ceres" of New Zealand, is said to be working in his sky garden when white clouds cover the blue sky. Rain falls when he waters his garden. During a famine people put out a dish of cooked food to appease him. Polack shows (211, vol. 1, p. 320) a cut of a tomb of a chief Mawe-rangi of Maungakahia, a valley between Hokianga and Kaipara. This chief may have been named after the god. The same belief about the cause of a mackerel sky is ascribed to Pare-koritawa working in her fields. She is the heaven-dwelling wife of the heroic Tawhaki and the daughter of Hine-nui-te-po (Shortland, 239, p. 23).

Maui-rangi is mentioned in a Maori chant (Hare Hongi, 148, pp. 123-124) which tells how, when people and crops perish of disease, Rupe consults Maui-i-te-rangi who ignores him until he casts at his feet a branch of the *kura-tawhiti*, a tree which the Maori brought with them to New Zealand from Hawaiki. Maui then predicts to Rupe that there will be "two years of silent destruction, two years of vain endeavour, two years of scarcity and famine, two years of abundance." Then he orders tapus on certain foods—two from the land, two from the sea, and "one of the night."

"Maui of the hosts, Maui of heaven," whom Tahitian high priests invoke (Henry, 147, p. 162), is Maui-mua, the priest, not Maui-tikitiki. They invoke Maui-rangi when they put sacred water into a large leaf encircled by stones as a bathing place for gods after temples and sacred grounds have been cleaned and renewed prior to great religious ceremonies.

Maui's association with the origin of important staple foods of mankind is not limited to New Zealand. In Samoa he is one of a party which goes to the sky to get food plants from gods who are unwilling to share their prizes with mankind. The leader of the party brings taro down to earth in his body just as Pani's husband does in New Zealand. Maui himself, according to another Samoan variant, brings both fire and taro in his loincloth to the earth from the fire god's underworld kingdom.

In Tahiti, Pukapuka, Tokelau, and the Carolines, the islands he fishes up are sections of the underworld. Its startled inhabitants, when raised to the surface of the water, are working on their taro and banana plantations which are new to the earth. Maui's grandson in the New Hebrides forces the hero, grown old and stingy, to share yams and bananas with the people of the earth. In Niue, Maui's father curses certain foods on the island and causes them to sour.

On his trip to the underworld, the hero usually finds his relatives working on their plantations. In western Polynesia his father makes the intruder weed or gather plants guarded by dangerous animals and insects, but in New Zealand Maui teaches his parents the fine points of cultivation.

Another food which is sometimes said to have been introduced to the world indirectly through Maui is the coconut. Throughout Polynesia, a coconut tree is said to have sprung from the severed head of Tuna, a giant eel who courted Hina. Certain variants state that Tuna is killed by Maui, who is jealous of his wife's attentions to Tuna (Stimson, 264, 265), or that he kills Tuna when Hina, a stranger to him, asks Maui to save her from the eel (Henry, 147). The coconut did not grow in New Zealand, but the Maori, who had brought the myth of Tuna with them from central Polynesia, state that after Maui kills Tuna, various species of fresh and salt water eels grow from parts of Tuna's body. His hairs become creepers and roots, and the trees which absorb his blood have colored wood. Some of these trees hide sparks of Mahuika's fire (White, 306, vol. 2, p. 120).

#### MAUI AND BIRD-CATCHING

The sun-snaring myth occurs in several connections in daily life. Not only is the longer, brighter day credited to Maui's courage in trapping and beating the sun, but incantations which aided him are believed to aid the traveler who wants to reach his destination before night, and thus avoid the malignant spirits who lurk in the darkness. The Maori had a chant referring to Maui's deed which is said to have enabled travelers to lengthen the day. The Maori who passed on the chant (so obscure that it never has been fully translated) was particularly desirous that Europeans should know what powerful magic his people had in the old days. The incantation, he said, had once enabled him to overtake a party which had set out days before (Best, 23, p. 97). Formerly, if a Maori had to travel at night, he held a cooked potato in his hand to keep the spirits, who abhorred cooked food, at a respectful distance.

Because some Maori regard the sun as a big bird which Maui has stalked and trapped, they draw upon his adventure for assistance in trapping birds, an important and valuable part of their diet, in the hope that Maui's snaring technique will help them. Birds are under the protection of Tane, who in New Zealand is god of the forests and the wild life living in them. Maui-tikitiki is an expert catcher of birds; his use of disguises in catching pigeons is admired by his mother and brothers. Although he can trap birds with his hands, he invents a barb for his bird spear so that the pierced birds cannot escape. Maui's descendants still use his invention, and when they sacrifice to Tane the first bird caught during the hunting season, they chant an invocation about how Maui snared The-bird-in-the-sun (Te-manu-i-te-ra).

The taking of Tane's children is rigidly controlled. Only in certain seasons and at a time approved by the priestly expert can birds be snared. Raymond Firth (99, pp. 128-156) discusses the importance and value of rites associated

with economic activities, especially those of snaring birds. He points out that the necessity for procuring sufficient food is only one of the motives leading to the use of magic to strengthen empirical knowledge and hunting skill. Other factors involved are the wish to do the snaring in a traditional fashion which has been handed down from father to son; the desire for public approval of skill and conformity to traditional, magical and religious techniques; and the confidence engendered by following practices which have human and supernatural sanctions.

The first bird is presented to Tane so that he will send many birds to village hunting lands. The rite also lifts the tapus from the hunters and permits them to share once more in the common activities of the village. At the sacred village fire, which contains the heart or spirit or essence of the village, a priest cooks the first bird. No one may come near him under penalty of death. Part of the bird is buried as a "seed-fish" to be the essence of the villagers and their land. The priest, as Tane's representative, eats part of the cooked bird or places the flesh in a hollow tree for Tane and his forest children. The invocation given below, called "the binding" (*here*) which accompanies the ceremony, tells how Maui snares and binds the sun with ropes and beats it with his sacred weapon, the jawbone of his ancestor Muri-ranga-whenua, until he breaks the wings of the sun-bird. The translation of the invocation is based on Elsdon Best's version (22, pp. 49-50).

'Tis the binding of the darkness,  
'Tis the binding of the light.  
Pull Earth, pull Heaven, pull the land,  
By convulsive effort, exhaustive effort—ah, ah!

Bind my snare firmly  
To the great light of Heaven.  
'Tis a sacred Heaven suspended.

Drag it away hither.  
Tie the snare of Maui—ah!  
My snare is bound  
To the great neck of Heaven.  
'Tis a sacred Heaven suspended.

Drag it away thither.  
Tie the snare of Maui—ah! oh!  
Thy face will be bruised like Maru-totoru.  
'Tis caught as by an army, bound tightly.  
May it encircle!  
May it clasp!  
All attained by the sacred jawbone weapon!

Maui devises many kinds of flaxen ropes, still in use, when he prepares to snare the sun. When he washes off the jawbone of Muri-ranga-whenua the trout in the water are stained red. On returning from snaring the sun, Maui

asks the birds to fetch him a drink of water. As the *tieke* (*Creedion carunculatus*) refuses, Maui throws it into the water where it continues to live. Another lazy bird he throws into the fire, giving it its brown spots. Thus it goes for each bird until the *kokako*, a kind of crow, runs to the spring and fills its ears with water for Maui, who gratefully pulls its legs out long as a reward (White, 306, vol. 2, p. 120). Throughout the area where Maui is known, peculiarities of many other birds are accounted for by explanatory elements attached, usually, however, to the myth of how he steals fire.

#### MAUI'S INVENTIONS

Whatever Maui did was done well, though an occasional narrator, as in the Arawa myth about Irawaru, makes Maui's brother or brother-in-law more clever than he at inventions. But these occasional local variations, which may result from misunderstandings and confusion on the narrator's part, do not alter the fact that most Polynesians regard Maui as so expert in all the crafts he undertook that he taught mankind many practical lessons. His acts were always phenomenal. He is as famous for his spurts of industry as for his intervals of laziness. In one day he made a thousand spears. The proverb, "Maui's house of arrows" is based on his skill in making hand spears. When his brothers needed two days to make a fishing net, Maui made a fine one in a day (Poata, 209, p. 2). He also invented a trap for eels (White, 306, vol. 2, p. 116).

An ancient Maori tattooing pattern was designed by Maui when he tattooed the dog's muzzle black. Dog-style tattoo (*moko kuri*) differs from the usual Maori style of spiral tattooing. The dog style consists of rows of short straight lines alternately horizontal and vertical across the face. Between the eyes is a mark somewhat like the letter S. A flock of tern, fascinated by Maui's design on Irawaru, painted it in red on the sky where it can still be seen at certain times (White, 306, vol. 2, p. 126). Maui originated one of the most loathsome of Maori insults when he told his unsuspecting sister to call her husband, "Moi, moi," after he had transformed him into a dog. Comparison of a person to an animal was a horrible insult in Polynesia.

The Efatese of New Hebrides have long since forgotten the art of pottery-making, but the many potsherds scattered over their island require explanation. Natives say that after Maui and his grandson had fished up Efate, it rocked and tipped crazily in the ocean. Thereupon Maui's wife who lived in the moon threw all her pots down to stabilize it. Potsherds are now called "the shells of the water pots of Lei-Maui-tikitiki." New Hebrideans also state that after Maui had destroyed a wicked cannibal who stole and ate children, he divided the land into districts and assigned them to different people who now refer to the myth as evidence of their title to the property (Macdonald, 182).

Literally hundreds of minor incidents explaining characteristics of birds, animals, landscapes, and mankind have been injected as afterthoughts into the Maui cycle.

The earth-fishing myth not only establishes the priority of certain residents of the islands and provides the starting point for a genealogical history, but also serves a more obvious purpose. Maui's spell for fishing up the islands still makes heavy, troublesome fish or objects light for his New Hebridean descendants when their merely human strength fails (Macdonald, 182, vol. 7). According to the Maori (Best, 30, p. 1125), Maui used the same type of chant (*hiki*) to lighten the fish as is used to drive people from their homes. The chant causes either fish or people to become "unnerved, restless, and to lose confidence in themselves." Maui's *hiki* weakened and confused the fish so that he easily drew it from its watery home to the surface.

Perverse Austral Islanders say that their fishhooks are without barbs because Maui never taught them to make barbs (Aitken, 5, p. 103).

#### MAUI AND FIRE-MAKING

Making fire by fire plough is a laborious task, and in daily life, it is far simpler to send a child or servant to borrow fire from a neighbor. Thus, the Arawa Maui cycle describes what must have been a familiar domestic scene when Maui called out that he was hungry and the servants scuttled from cookhouse to cookhouse to borrow some fire. Maui, of course, had seen to it that all fires were out. This gave him an excuse to visit Mahuika and test his magic.

The Ngati-Hau of New Zealand say that when Maui's mother ordered her daughters to get fire so that food could be cooked for the returned prodigal, Maui-tikitiki, the crafty hero, repeated a charm which made his sisters disobedient and refuse to go for fire (White, 306, vol. 2, p. 67). "Deaf ears, deaf ears, deaf ears," he muttered as his sisters driven by his magic turned their backs on their amazed mother. Then Maui nobly offered to get the fire himself, much to his mother's dismay, for she suspected his deceitfulness.

New fire is made for ceremonies, such as that for lifting the tapus from the bird hunters, and the formula chanted by fire-making priests refers to Maui. The translation below, adapted from that by Elsdon Best (29, p. 151), exemplifies the Polynesian custom of naming inanimate objects. Both the hearth and the rubbing stick which constitute the fire plough are named.

I generate my fire.  
The fire of whom?  
The fire of Maui,  
Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga.  
What is the hearth called?  
It is Tu-te-hurutea,

The hearth of Maui.  
 What is the rubbing stick called?  
 It is Tuke-a-rangi.  
 What is my offspring?  
 It is Toroi-a-pawa from Takutaku, from Puhoumea.  
 My fire ignites.  
 It is the fire of Tongaruru.  
 My fire ignites.  
 It is Tonga-apai.  
 My fire ignites.  
 It is Piere-tu.  
 My fire ignites.  
 It is Piere-tau.  
 The fire of Mahuika appears!

Not only in the Maui myths about the origin of fire but in myths from Melanesia and Micronesia which do not have Maui as the fire-stealing hero, the making of fire is often compared to sexual activity. The elderly hoarder of fire either keeps it in her fingers or toes or in her body. The Maori verb *hika* is used to describe the generation of both fire and children. In the chant, the process of producing fire is personified as Puhoumea while the wood dust created by friction is called Takutaku, and the smoke rising from the hearth is Toroi-a-pawa. Then the groove in the hearth blackens as the dust begins to ignite and finally the flame of Mahuika flares up. Sometimes the Maori call the five fingers of the human hand Te Tokorima-a-Maui, the-five-fingers-of-Maui, or the children of Mahuika, in remembrance of those variants of the origin of fire in which the hero gets fire from the fingers of Mahuika.

Chatham Islanders heal burns by applying soothing herbs and reciting charms patterned after those used by Maui to destroy Mahuika's mana and the pain of the fire (Shand, 236, p. 21).

When a Mangaian makes fire with the primitive fire plough, he intones the chant Mahuika taught Maui when he came to the underworld for fire. Mahuika ordered Maui to hold down the lower stick while he himself ploughed busily upon it with another to make fire. By the time Mahuika had finished the chant, invoking the spirit of the banyan tree which was sacred to fire, the friction and magical power of the words had done their work, and smoke drifted upward. Maui had learned the secret of making fire (Gill, 121, p. 55). The chant follows:

Grant, oh grant me thy hidden fire,  
 Thou banyan tree!  
 Perform an incantation,  
 Utter a prayer to  
 The banyan tree!  
 Kindle a fire of the dust  
 Of the banyan tree!  
 For Mauike!

## THE WORSHIPERS OF MAUI

## CLASSIFICATION OF MAUI

If a god is defined as a supernatural being who receives worship, then Maui is rarely, if ever, to be classified as a god. Evidence, in the form of hearsay, native statements, or the actual observation and experiences of Europeans, that Maui has, or ever had, worshipers is so rare, obscure, and uncorroborated as to be practically nil or atypical. What a contrast this situation is to that of Tangaroa or Tane! While beliefs about these gods vary from island to island, evidence is abundant and trustworthy that many islands formerly had worship of Tane and Tangaroa superintended by special priests who dedicated impressive sacrifices and prayers to them at temples built in their honor. In contrast, both Polynesians and Europeans contentiously dispute the uncommon statements regarding any temples, worship, or priests devoted to Maui. They rarely classify him as a god. More often they identify him as a demi-god and a spirit who was once an ancestor of supernormal skill.

The fundamental conflict in Maui's personality is implied in the Polynesian dual classification of him in terms of both divine and earthly rank. To Tahitians and Hawaiians (Thrum, 284, p. 248; Beckwith, 21, pp. 229, 403) he is a *kupua*, a supernatural being and wonder-working trickster who is half-human and half-god, a demi-god, or a superman. His Tuamotuan biographers sometimes call him Tupuatupua, subtly complimenting him by omitting even his family name of Maui. A *tupuatupua* is a great miracle man or super-super-man. To some islanders a *tupua* is the spirit of a dead person, especially of a chief, who still exerts magical power and lives as a star in heaven. Maui and his brothers are such star-dwellers and magicians to Rotumans. When Tuamotuans, however, talk of Maui as a person who once lived but who is now dead, they call him an *atua*, which to them is any unusual being with supernatural or supernormal qualities. Society Islanders, on the other hand, regard an *atua* as a god of high rank. Their chants refer to Maui as an *atua-ta'ata*, a god-man or demi-god (Henry, 147). Captain Cook (Wharton, 304, p. 83) learned that Maui, who belonged to the second order of gods in the Society Archipelago, continued the work of the primal gods but was not a first-class god himself. Polynesians, then, classify Maui by whatever term they have that means a demi-god.

Source material on the hierarchical status of Maui is unsatisfactory. A typical introductory generality by casual recorders of Maui myths, as, for instance, in Niue, is that Maui and Tangaroa are the two principal deities of Niue and other Polynesian islands (Thomson, 281, p. 84). Ubiquity is confused with sacredness. Perhaps this is why one writer calls Maui the greatest of Tongan gods and the principal god, and why, of two early simultaneous

visitors to Mangareva, one calls Maui a god, whereas his colleague calls him a man.

Early source material on New Zealand is equally unsatisfactory. In 1817, Nicholas (203, vol. 1, p. 56) wrote that Mowheerangaranga was the Maori supreme deity with departmental subordinates called Mowheemooha (Maui-mua) and Mowheebotakee (Maui-potiki). Elsdon Best's studies of Maori traditions lead him to reject this statement. Of doubtful value, also, is an opinion dated 1835 (Yate, 311, p. 145) that the Maori do not respect or worship Maui and his brothers and have no other gods whom they regard. An intermediate point of view expressed in 1853 (Dieffenbach, 82, vol. 2, pp. 88, 90, 116) is that Maui had supernatural powers but was not a god; he was not worshiped, though a real benefactor of man; and traditions about him as a spiritual being and maker of heaven and earth seem to be European notions mixed with native myths. According to a recurrent statement in early travel accounts, Maui is the most celebrated of Maori deified ancestors and was the first great man (A. Thomson, 279, vol. 1, p. 11). Marsden (Elder, 86, p. 196) reports that Maui was held in great veneration and worshiped as a deity.

However, S. Percy Smith repeatedly maintains from his extensive knowledge of the priestly lore of Maori houses of learning and traditions and genealogies of many Polynesian islands besides New Zealand that Maui was not a god except in the sense that he was a deified ancestor. Smith does not mention Maui worship in any island. Early writers on Polynesian culture, handicapped by not knowing the language, jumped to the conclusion that Maui must be a great deity because they heard of him so often. This frequent reference means only that myths about him were not tapu and could be told to any outsiders, including Europeans, under any conditions.

Ethnographers classify Maui-tikitiki as a demi-god rather than as a god of the first order who receives worship. According to Burrows (45, 46), Maui is a primal demi-god in Uvea and Futuna. Gifford (119, pp. 290-291) calls him a Tongan culture hero and demi-god. In Pukapuka he is "definitely a culture hero with godlike powers but no deistic functions," who is now remembered only in legends (Beagleholes, 17, p. 314). Mangarevans regard Maui as a hero with super-normal powers but they do not worship him; he intervenes in the chronology between the gods and the legendary heroes (Buck, 275, pp. 306, 425).

To S. Percy Smith, former governor of Niue, Maui is not a Niuean god but merely a hero who has gained much glory through his actions (246, vol. 11, p. 197). A Samoan missionary in Niue refers to the Niuean Maui who raised the sky as an *aitu*, a god, and later as a god-like man (Cowan, 73, pp. 238, 239). The Samoan missionary's use of the term *aitu* is interesting. It does not have the full meaning of god as suggested by the translator.

The word *aitu*, absent from old Niuean songs, was perhaps introduced by Samoan Christians. Now the word designates the souls of the dead, or ordinary ghosts, but the greater part of the present ghost cult arose with Christianity (Loeb, 169, pp. 148-149). Christian concepts probably influenced the Niuean identification of the fire god's underworld home as the place to which the dead go when they cannot reach heaven and the goddess Hina (Bastian, 14, p. 26). It is not clear whether this subterranean Hades called Maui is named for the son who stole fire or for his father, who guarded the underworld fire (Turner, 293, p. 306; Loeb, 169, pp. 37, 78). An old Niuean song makes Maui's home the sky—"Maui who stands in Paluki, after dwelling in the sky far away" (Tregear, 289, p. 235; Loeb, 169, p. 224). Paluki, a site on Niue, was a sacred gathering place for gods and men. Nothing about Maui in Niue indicates that he is other than a demi-god.

Occasional references to a cult of Maui have little or no supporting evidence. Certain Hawaiians, for example, say that Maui's benefactions to mankind inspired King Kamehameha, which one is not stated, to build a temple called Paliliki or Pahu-a-Maui in his honor near Diamond Head, Honolulu (Bastian, 14, p. 232; McAllister, 192, p. 74). This temple was on the site of the present lighthouse. However, no remains of the temple have been found. The late Lahilahi Webb, an authority on Oahu royal history, told me that, to her knowledge, such a temple never existed.

Conflicting as are the statements about Maui-tikitiki in Efate, Aneiteum, Tanna, Aniwa, and Futuna in the New Hebrides, the impression remains that on this southwestern boundary to which knowledge of Maui has spread, he formerly received some worship. People regarded him with ambivalent feelings derived from the local interpretation of his character as a spirit with a dual nature.

Gill of the London Missionary Society (121, pp. 177-178; cited by Williamson, 309, vol. 2, p. 181) heard from Lu, a native missionary in Futuna, that when he arrived in 1859 the people were rebuilding for the last time a temple supported by eight pillars which symbolized eight gods. Shorter posts symbolized minor deities. All these gods received some worship. Gunn, a later writer (140, pp. 218-219), quoting Gill almost verbatim, adds that the temple was for Amoshikishiki (the local dialectical equivalent of Maui-tikitiki) whose worship went on there from October to March to ensure a good growing and fishing season. A much later writer (Humphreys, 149, p. 117), who checked these points, could get no confirmation that Futunans had ever built such temples. In 1863, it was reported that Efatese worshiped two gods, Maui-tikitiki and his grandson Tamakaia, from whom they traced the origin of all things (Murray, 201, p. 228 and Brenchley, 35, p. 230; cited by Speiser, 259 and Williamson, 309, vol. 2, p. 181). However, Macdonald

(182, p. 760) declares, on the basis of his experience in the New Hebrides, that the two were not the chief gods but merely the first men. He calls Maui one of the *supe*, the ancients or ancestors of men of this world; as a spirit in Hades after death, Maui was one of the *natemate*. The only man who had ever heard of any Maui worship said that fowls were sacrificed at his grave on nearby Mai island.

In Aneiteum, Maui was one of a host of inferior or local deities called *natmas* (dead men), especially deified men. Macdonald learned that Maui was the old man (*nefatimi*) who fished up land, an exploit sometimes credited to Inhungeraing, a deity so sacred only the highest officials could mention his name. One recorder (Lawrie, 162, p. 713) thinks that Inhungeraing is the sun god and Maui the rain god. A vague comment in another source is that either Inhungeraing or Maui is the principal god.

Aniwa Island has, under the influence of Christian and Melanesian ethical dualism, interpreted Maui as an evil spirit. Islanders trace man's sufferings and troubles to Maui, a great god incarnate in a serpent toward whom the people, hoping to propitiate him, direct all their worship (Paton, 208, p. 157). An Aniwan compares the snake with the Christian devil, "He makes us bad and causes all our trouble." Maui is not completely evil, however, for, in Futuna, he prevented the introduction of sorcery by wrecking and turning to stone the boat bringing it (Ray, 223, p. 147; Humphreys, 149, p. 118). Tanna Islanders have dualistic beliefs about Maui, like those in Aniwa. Maui is said to have been worshiped as an evil spirit incarnate in a snake; on the other hand, a narrator speaks of him as a good spirit for taking human form to kill a child-eating cannibal (Humphreys, 149, p. 99).

Northward from the New Hebrides in Keloma, an islet of Ontong Java, a priest named Okuu has a masculine familiar spirit named Maui, who created Keloma out of sand. In nearby Tehale, a Nukumanu islet, Maui is an evil masculine spirit (*tipua*) of the earth; Mahuika is a masculine spirit of the adjoining islet Halaolo (Sarfert and Damm, 230, pp. 297, 333, 342).

With one exception, the general tenor of statements about the Tongan Maui is that he is not worshiped. Tongans usually say that the Maui family belongs to the order of created gods who are not, however, spiritual beings like the Tangaloa family (Farmer, 98, pp. 126, 161). The Maui's are only human beings of unusual strength and size who receive no offerings. Mariner (Martin, 190, vol. 1, pp. 111, 120; vol. 2, pp. 104, 112) describes Moooi as the gigantic Tongan earth-supporter and world-shaker. This is Maui-motua who replaces Mahuika as the Tongan underworld god from whom Maui-tikitiki steals fire. Though, in Mariner's time, people shouted and beat sticks on the ground to make him lie still, he never inspired anyone or had temples dedicated to him. Other early visitors to Tonga express similar views. Like

Mariner they do not always specify which member of the Maui family they mean, though old Maui is indicated (Lawry, 163, p. 37; Wilkes, 307, p. 23; Williamson, 309, vol. 2, pp. 160-161). Tregear (286, p. 464) contrarily states that Tongans never represent Tangaloa and Maui by images because they are too sacred.

The exception to statements that Tongans formerly did not worship Maui comes from Collocott, a modern writer, who states that at Koloa, on Vavau, Tonga, Maui had a shrine and priest up to the time of Christianity (61, p. 154; 65, p. 8). So significant a statement should, if still possible, be investigated further. Tongan variants of the Maui cycle have been localized at Koloa. Maui's father entered the underworld there, and the family apparently lived near this entrance with Maui's mother, a Vavau woman. If a shrine and priest were to be dedicated to Maui anywhere in Tonga, Koloa would certainly be the logical place because of the district's peculiar claim to Maui through narrators having localized events of the Maui cycle there.

As in Tonga, Maui is closely associated with the earth in Mangaia, where he is a guardian of the earth (Gill, 122, p. 51). In Tongarevan theology Te Maui held a high position (Buck, 272, p. 86). As stated earlier, Moerenhout declared that Marquesan *ka'ioi* held an October celebration for Maui, and presented him with first fruits in December. Other writers do not mention this.

Except in the unusual instances described above, Maui's role as an ancestor and culture hero does not inspire worship. The small amount of honor, let alone reverence, paid him anywhere in Oceania is quite out of proportion to the cleverness and magical genius exhibited in his wonderful exploits, which often aid mankind. People still recite some of his charms and incantations; they still use his name and those of his brothers in magic; but their attitude toward him is seldom religious. Whatever respect he gets is such as one ambitious magician would assume toward another of acknowledged success whose charms bring good luck today. Thus, both native terminology and ethnographic descriptions favor classifying Maui as a demi-god rather than as a god who had worshipers, cults, and temples.

#### MAUI AS A SUN GOD

Many of Maui's European biographers during the period from the mid-nineteenth century into the 1930's have written much about the worship of the hero as a solar god. These biographers, whose theories are presented more fully in a later chapter, interpret Polynesian religion as being wholly or partly a cult of the sun with Maui as the sun god, as the sun itself, or as the personification of the sun. These theories used Polynesian religion as an

example of that hypothetical stage of mental development in which the worship of the sun is assumed to prevail.

The Maui cycle, like the rest of Polynesian mythology, is conceived of as one great allegory, the meaning of which Polynesians themselves have half forgotten. Solarism is the "universal solvent to reduce dark stories to transparent sense" (Tylor, 295, vol. 1, p. 278) and to discover their dimly remembered meanings. The Maui cycle emerges from the solvent as the symbolic account of the rising and setting of the sun. In following the solar theories, one soon becomes busy separating allegories within allegories, like sets of Chinese boxes, and wondering how, if Maui himself is the sun, he can meet himself at dawn, snare his unsuspecting self with painful ropes, choke and beat himself within an inch of his life until he promises himself faithfully never to go so quickly over the earth again.

Since the solar school uses the deductive method and the universal solvent of solarism, its conclusions and logic are unaffected by the fact that the sun functions only as a minor deity in Polynesian religion and that theorists misinterpret some of the published accounts of native sun worship through confusing collectors' interpretations with informants' data. Some collectors apply the solar theory as the clarifying solvent to beliefs which they think that Polynesians themselves do not understand, or wish to conceal because of their sanctity.

The following pages present a brief survey of what Polynesians themselves have narrated about Maui's connection with the sun and any evidence that Maui was ever identified with the sun, or that either he or the sun figures in Polynesian worship.

Except for those myths in which he regulates the course of the sun, Maui has little to do with the solar system. Also, myths about how he snared the sun and made it travel more slowly occur almost entirely in eastern Polynesia. Maui is the sun-snarer in New Zealand, the Chatham Islands, the Tuamotus, the Society Archipelago, Rapa, the Australs, Mangareva, Mangaia, the Marquesas, the Hawaiian Islands, and Manihiki and Rakahanga. References to other Maui adventures involving the sun are infrequent (Luomala, 171).

The only reference to Maui having any blood relationship to the sun is in a single Tahitian variant in which as the son of Hihi-Ra (Sun-ray), he takes the name Maui-tiitii-o-te-ra (Henry, 147). Even in Tahiti, this relationship is atypical, for two variants of the sun-snaring myth in an old manuscript (Luomala, 171, p. 26), which are nearly identical with the afore-mentioned version in other respects, states that Maui's father was Ataraa and Maui was called Maui-tiitii-Ataraa. The aberrant relationship of Maui and Hihi-Ra may represent a single narrator's play on the name

Ataraa and the phrase, *o-te-ra*, of-the-sun, to individualize the story and adapt it to the needs of the religious sect which was revising the mythology.

Maui created the sun, according to a Maori, a Manihikian, and two Society Archipelago references. The two Society Islands notes are unreliable because the collectors, G. and J. R. Forster, members of Captain Cook's crews, consider Tangaroa and Maui as different names of the same god and indiscriminately credit exploits to either character (G. Forster, 105, vol. 2, p. 151; J. R. Forster, 106, pp. 158, 539, 564; Wilkes, 307, p. 23). J. R. Forster writes that O-Maoowe was the god and creator of the sun who caused earthquakes by shaking the earth when he was angry, and that the chiefs and better sort of people went to Maouwe in the sun to feast after death. According to G. Forster, Maui created the sun; souls of the dead feasted with Tootoo-mo-Horo-rirree, who had a beautiful form with hair to his feet. J. R. Forster says that it was Tangaroa who lived in the sun and had long hair. William Ellis' statement (87, vol. 1, p. 114) that Tangaroa created the sun and the cosmic system is more in line with the usual Society Archipelago traditions.

Polack, writing of the Maori, states that when Maui died his right eye became the sun (211, vol. 1, p. 16). This represents a local adaptation to Maui of the common Polynesian and Asiatic belief (Dixon, 83, p. 37) that after death the eyes of a hero or supernatural being become the sun, moon, or stars. Polack's statement that Maui's eye is the origin of the sun is unconfirmed and the particular tribe or district with this belief is unknown. To Manihikians, Maui made the moon and later the sun, as the moon did not give enough light. The same source credits a like belief to several unnamed gods of Nanumea Island in the Ellice Islands (Turner, 293, pp. 278, 292).

Except for his exploit of sun-snaring, the three references described above, and the reference to the sun as his father, Maui has no more special association with the sun than with other aspects of nature. His deed of adjusting the speed of the sun does not make him a sun god any more than his other exploits make him a wind, fire, sky, or fishing god. He functions as a culture hero, demi-god, and wonder-worker in several departments of the world. His tinkering as a Jack-of-all-trades sometimes benefits mankind, sometimes harms it, but it puts the world into its present condition. Maui adjusts the solar system to suit himself and his family and, incidentally, mankind, just as he raises the sky so that he can stand upright and show off his muscle.

The sun itself is unimportant in Polynesian mythology. It is even less important in eastern Polynesia, whence come most references to Maui's connection with the sun, than in the western area. Nearly all eastern Polynesian data about the sun are from Maui sun-snaring myths. Most of the

western data are in two hero cycles, each fairly distinct from the other, though with overlapping incidents about sons of the sun and earthly women. These two cycles largely account for whatever appreciable amount of greater prominence the sun has in western Polynesian lore than in the eastern. Of the western islands, Samoa has more about the sun than do her neighbors principally because the son-of-the-sun cycle about Tagaloa-a-Ui is concentrated there. The second son-of-the-sun cycle centers in Tonga and Samoa. It diffused to Fiji from Tonga, along with Maui myths (Gifford, 118, p. 12). The hero of this second cycle is Alo-alo-o-le-La to Samoans, Sisi-matailaa to Tongans, and Child-of-the-Sun or Son-of-the-Sun to translators.

What little detail and personification of the sun Polynesian mythology has appears mainly in myths about Maui, Tagaloa-a-Ui, and Alo-alo. Narrators vaguely personify the sun as a man who, upon emerging through a hole on the eastern horizon, crosses the earth and returns to his underworld home through a western aperture. The personification as a man is more often implied than overtly stated in references to the parts of his body trapped by Maui's snares. Old Maori myths from the Tuhoe tribe (Elsdon Best, 30, p. 786) describe the sun as Te Manu-i-te-ra, The-bird-in-the-sun. Evidently the Ngati-Hau tribe (White, 306, vol. 2; Best, 30, p. 799) retains this characterization, for Maui breaks the wings of the sun to slow it up. Usually he breaks the legs or the rays of the sun.

The only personal peculiarity of the sun elaborated in the myths is its irregularity and haste in crossing the earth, which leads to Maui or Alo-alo trapping it. Occasional variants of the Tagaloa-a-Ui cycle tell how the sun, angered by human criticism of its irregularity, takes cannibalistic revenge on critics until marriage to an earthly woman reforms both its diet and its temper. Eastern Polynesian wives of the sun are inactive; occasionally the Maori personify them as the seasons (Best, 30, p. 788) while the Chathams (Shand, 236, p. 20) make them divisions of the day. Tahitians (Ellis, 87, p. 71, vol. 3) and New Hebrideans (Williamson, 309, vol. 1, p. 104) sometimes identify the moon as the wife of the sun.

Storytellers elaborate details about the sun as they wish. A Hawaiian narrator grants the sun 16 legs; another stops at two legs with one longer than the other until Maui evens them (Westervelt, 302). A Tahitian storyteller has Maui-mua count 10 rays of the sun and make a rope for each (Henry, 147). More commonly the rays of the sun are called the ropes Maui left dangling from the beaten sun (Gill, 121, p. 62; Henry, 147). The Mangaian sun has golden hair. Because Maui traps the sun as it rises, narrators give more attention to the eastern pit from which the sun emerges than to its western exit. To Tuamotuans (Stimson, 265, p. 27), the route of the sun is The-way-of-valiance (Ara-matietie). The Chathams (Shand, 236, p. 20) call the eastern pit The-rising-of-the-sun (Hitinga-ta-ra), identical

with the Tahitian "pit" name *Te Hitia-o-te-ra*, which connotes the east (Ellis, 87, vol. 1, p. 85). The Arawa artist has Maui learn the secret name of the sun, *Great-son-of-the-sun*, or *Tama-nui-te-ra* (Grey, 131); the Chathams call the sun *Tami-hit-ta-ra*, a term related to the Maori (Shand, 236, p. 20); Tuamotuan's name the sun *Te Ra-tu-nuku*, *The-sun-above-the-earth*. To the Maori *Ngati-Hau*, *Tu-nuku* is the father of the sun (White, 306, vol. 2, p. 87). To *Rakahangans*, the sun is Hina's great son who guards the eastern entry. Hina helps Maui snare her child.

Except in the three hero cycles about Maui, *Alo-alo*, and *Tagaloa-a-Ui*, references to the sun are rare and scattered. Various collectors and comparative scholars have summarized the miscellaneous data: Best for New Zealand (30, pp. 786-802); Dixon for much of eastern Polynesia (83, p. 37); Williamson for many Oceanic islands with Polynesian culture (309, vol. 1, pp. 96-118). Eastern islands, if they mention the origin of the sun at all, do so very casually. In the west, Tongan mythology (Gifford, 118, p. 14) gives no hint of the creation of the sun, moon, stars, and other cosmic elements the pre-existence of which is either stated or tacitly assumed. Samoans, as part of the local development of cycles about sons of the sun, narrate in one version of the *Alo-alo* cycle that *Tawhaki* was the sun's father and therefore *Alo-alo's* grandfather (Pratt, 215, pp. 447-463).

References to sun worship are uncommon. Except in Samoa, a collector's statement about sun worship in a particular island is unverified by other collectors. According to Mead's summary of Samoan data about former sun worship, most of which derives from *Tagaloa-a-Ui* cycle incidents, *Manuans* believe the sun to have been worshiped and given human sacrifices in former times (194, pp. 162-164). A Tongan myth tells of some brothers and sisters kneeling before the sun and praying (Gifford, 119, pp. 90, 298); that their prayers were to the sun, is not specifically stated. No Tongan temples or priests of the sun have been reported. The sun in Tonga does not have even the slight prominence it has in Samoa. A comparative study of the sun in Polynesian religion (Handy, 143, p. 106) reveals that only the *Society Islanders* had an actual cult to *Ra* or *Raa*. However, this study confuses the sun god *Ra* with the war god *Raa*, and it is the latter god who formerly was revered (Luomala, 172). A Maori *Nga-i-Tahu* myth (White, 306, vol. 2, p. 53) mentions chants and sacrifices to the sun to placate the warring people of a tribe; also mentioned is an annual sun feast among the Maori. Despite the abundant data about Maori religion and mythology, no other writer mentions this feast or a perpendicular stone said to be associated with it. Elsdon Best (30, p. 801) declares that he has never found one item of evidence on a Maori sun cult.

The small amount and insignificant content of most of the data on the sun in Polynesian mythology and worship establishes its minor position and

function in native ideology. Samoan data indicate a local development of sun lore which was stronger in myths than in worship. Handy (143, p. 103), writing of the "irresistible lure of the 'sun cult' for many students," aptly summarizes the situation regarding what little sun worship the Polynesians may once have had: ". . . Polynesian religion was not a 'sun cult.' If it is so called, it must also be named a sea cult, a rock cult, a fish cult, a bird cult, a cloud cult, and so on . . ." Moreover, worship involving departments of nature does not exist as a phenomenon complete in itself and isolated from the rest of the complex religious and metaphysical thought of Polynesia.

The worship of either Maui or the sun is unusual in Polynesia. Evidence that Polynesians identify the two is so slight and shaky as to be nearly nonexistent.

### THE ANTIQUARIANS

To Polynesians, the relics of Maui prove that he once lived on their island, that the myths are true, and that he is their ancestor. His relics are as common in Polynesia as are relics of Christian saints in the Mediterranean area. They sparkle in the heavens, are petrified in the landscape, or hidden among prized possessions of nobles. The origin of these relics is told in incidents forming part of the hero's adventures.

When asked if Maui really lived on their island, Polynesians point to the adjoining islet which broke off when Maui pulled up the land! And here his feet sank into the ground as he strained to raise the sky and hold back the sun. There his ropes dragged and scraped the rocks as he snared the sun, and over there is the hole he made when he threw his digging stick through a cliff after his wife had nagged him for being lazy. The rock which his doting parents carved out to make him a bathing place is still to be seen, as are his oven and the heaps of dirt he left after digging it out. (See Collocott, 64, p. 211 and 65, p. 8; Gifford, 118, p. 23.)

Mary Kawena Pukui tells me that these noted spots (*wahipana* to the Hawaiians) are a source of much understandable patriotic pride to a district. Her native district of Puna, on the island of Hawaii, has several famous landmarks and many associated myths which add an aura of distinction and importance to the locality and its residents. The landmarks are proudly displayed to visitors and the myths narrated to them. Some Puna residents who visited the island of Kauai returned very much impressed because Kauai, they told the homefolks, has even more *wahipana* and myths than Puna itself. Souvenir hunters have destroyed or mutilated many of Puna's proudest *wahipana*, one of them Maui's canoe petrified in stone.

The mention of one landmark will recall to a patriotic islander, whether European or Polynesian, many more which ought to be included if justice is to be done to the beauty, importance, and traditional superiority of his

island. The Maui myths carry authority as explanations or as providing romantic local color for the social and physical qualities of an island.

Tonga has a trilithon, still standing, which Maui is said to have built. This is a popular mythical explanation for a structure the origin of which has been forgotten. According to the myth, Maui brought the rocks from Uvea, and this element of the story is a great source of pride to the tiny island of Uvea (Collocott, 62, pp. 172, 174; McKern, 193, pp. 63-66).

Chiefs in several islands claim to have the original hook which Maui used to fish up land, and possession of this hook gives prestige and political authority to a chief and his people. Tongan nobles used to say that they had Maui's hook but it would mean death for anyone but Maui's descendants to see it. The hook is now said to have been destroyed by fire. The political and geographical fate of Feis Island in the Carolines is believed by the residents to be bound up with the fate of the hook with which Maui fished up the island. The islanders believe that were this hook to be stolen or destroyed, they might be conquered, be destroyed by a tidal wave, or meet some equally terrible fate.

Usually, however, Maui's hook, line, and canoe are pointed out as constellations. To Manihikians, Scorpio is Maui's hook; Pukapukans point to a triangular black nebula, which is Maui's spear. One of the sharks which he killed with his spear while he was out fishing up islands he threw up into the sky, where it is still seen lying upon the Milky Way, according to the Maoris, Pukapukans, and Rarotongans. Many great Polynesian chiefs and heroes have become stars according to island belief. In the sky above Rotuma are some stars which were once the Maui brothers, who were very vain and wanted everyone in the world to see them so they went to live in the sky as stars. According to Pukapukans who have a similar notion, the three Maui boys can be seen in Orion.

One of Maui's lesser deeds was to throw a Tongarevan god into the sky with such force that the god hit a star and shattered it into many separate stars which form the present constellations (Buck, 272). Another example of Maui's supernatural strength comes from Rotuma, where he is said to have thrown two snapping, magical stones into the sky where they continue to snap and produce thunder (Macgregor, 184).

The winds too are a constant reminder that Maui once walked as a giant on the earth with his head in the clouds. Keen-eyed Polynesian navigators and farmers closely observe, for practical reasons, the skies and the movement of the heavenly bodies; but their imaginative speculations over the origin of these bodies have led them to name the constellations after great men and gods whose spirits inhabit them, and to invent genealogies and myths to explain their presence in the sky.

Many islands are said to be fish which Maui drew from the sea. Keeping

up this imaginative idea, North Islanders of New Zealand name various parts of their island after corresponding parts of a real fish. A pleasant local compliment is to ascribe superior wisdom and intelligence to those Maoris who live on the head of the fish.

Central Polynesians also elaborate the metaphorical comparison of an island with a fish. According to the Tuamotuans, Tahiti is one of Maui's sharks (Smith, 245, vol. 12, note p. 239). The people of Raiatea, the ancient Hawaiki and intellectual center of Polynesia, scornfully declare that Tahiti was once their captive, a fish, a part of Raiatea, until it broke from its moorings and bonds and escaped into its present location, where its warriors cut its sinews to stabilize and anchor it (Henry, 147). With stories such as these, it is no wonder that those who look for historical significance in the myths have a field day when they come to interpret Polynesian native literature. Manihiki and Rakahanga, two small islands which are about 25 miles apart, believe that they once were a single land until Maui and Toa, both of whom claimed that they had fished up the island, had a fight and chased each other around the island until Maui's great weight fractured it into two or three pieces. Niue Island was also part of the land which Maui fished up; it was attached to Tonga but broke off and drifted away until it came to rest in its present northern location.

The main outlines of the Polynesian landscape are believed to have been shaped by Maui and his fishing party. He flattened out much of Futuna by jumping all over it one night, but daylight came before he had finished and—since the regulations applying to ghosts, spirits, demi-gods and others of the same fraternity forbade him carrying on certain activities after sunrise—went home and left the rest of the land rough. Although Rurutu Island in the Australs has forgotten any myths it ever knew about Maui, it has enough patriotic pride to want to prove to visitors that even if Maui did not actually stay overnight on their island he at least passed through it. They point to an indentation in the reef which they claim is the footstep of none other than Maui (Seabrook, 234).

South Islanders of New Zealand proudly claim that their island is Maui's canoe in which he stood to fish up North Island, which has the mythological name of *Te Ika-roa-a-Maui*, the-long-fish-of-Maui (Cowan, 74, p. 14). Stewart Island, part of New Zealand, is identified as *Te Puka-a-Maui*, Maui's anchor (Cowan, 69, p. 46).

In January 1769, an elderly South Island chief by the name of Totaranui, pointed across the strait to North Island and said to his guest, Captain Cook, "Aehino Mouwe." Captain Cook duly recorded the conversation in his journal that night and described the circumstances (Wharton, 304, p. 189). The two words of Chief Totaranui have given European scholars many hours of hard thought and conjecture. At another place in his journal, Captain Cook has

spelled out the chief's two words not as "Aehino Mauwe" but as "Eaheino Mauwe."

S. Percy Smith, one of the greatest European scholars in Polynesian anthropology, suggests (250, vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 180) that Captain Cook probably heard the verbal form of Te Ika-a-Maui, which is *he-hinga-no-Maui* (a-fishing-of-Maui). A heedless listener without a sharp ear for linguistic subtleties might, he thinks, miss the slurred *ng* which concludes the word *hinga* as well as the initial *h* of *he* and thus think he heard "Ae-hin-o-Mauwe." Another writer actually gives the verbal form of the term as *ehinomauui*. Another suggestion is Te-hinga-o-Maui, The-fishing-of-Maui (Wharton, 304, p. 189). Dieffenbach and Polack, two early European residents in New Zealand, interpret Cook's term as either "The-begotten-of-Maui" or "The-fire-of-Maui" (Dieffenbach, 82, vol. 2, p. 89). Another suggestion is that Chief Totaranui might have been pointing, not at the entire North Island across the strait, but only at its "burning mountain, Tongariro," which is visible across the strait, and that he said to Captain Cook, "Te ahi a Maui" (The fire of Maui). However, on this point Captain Cook has given an answer apparently overlooked. Captain Cook, too, seems to have wondered to what his guide was referring, for he writes later in his journal that after he had made a tour around the island he felt well-assured that Aeheinomouwe (a third spelling) included the whole of North Island (Wharton, 304, p. 214). At any rate, no one has disputed the fact that something, whether a fish, island, or volcano, relating to the demi-god Maui was the subject of Chief Totaranui and Captain Cook in their one-way conversation.

Personalizing a myth by linking it to the local geography is a predominant characteristic of Polynesian mythology which is in marked contrast to most mythology of the American Indians. That Polynesian narrators and listeners derive great aesthetic satisfaction from such localization, is evident from the detailed itineraries which heroes like Maui are said to have had and which the narrators incorporate into the myths.

Elements contributing to this satisfaction are probably the sounds of the words, the memories and emotions stirred by melodious Polynesian names of familiar places, and the desire of listeners, themselves remarkable navigators, to know exactly the hero's course on land, sea, or sky.

To the non-Polynesian, these itineraries at first seem tedious breaks in the action of a thrilling plot, but familiarity with the literary style and acquaintance with some of the places named begins to evoke as much feeling from the lists of heroic Polynesian itineraries as from Carl Sandburg's sonorous poetic lists of mid-western American cities, hamlets, and railways. It is no longer wearying and confusing then to hear that Maui once lived at Makaliua, above Kahakuloa, in a northerly direction from Lahainaluna, on west Maui, in the Hawaiian Islands.

## THE EIGHT HEADS OF MAUI

### HIS OCEANIC BIOGRAPHERS

#### CREATORS OF MAUI

Most previous European theories about Maui and his adventures have tended to over-emphasize similarities and general motifs with the counter-effect of obscuring the multifold differences among individual variants. Maui and his adventures have been treated as if they constituted one coherent, functional unit. This has been due to the primary concern of European biographers in noting parallels between Maui myths and those of the Old World. Uninterested in objectively comparing Polynesian variants with each other, they have preferred to find a norm to compare with selected norms from other mythologies. The extremely popular New Zealand version of the Arawa tribe has been favored as the norm because of its length, literary value, and accessibility in Grey's popular volume (131).

Overwhelming agreement among early writers as to the original solar character of Maui and his career and the identification of him with other celestial phenomena and human heroes has helped to minimize local variations. Differences have been regarded as unimportant unless they furnished evidence of survivals of solar worship or the processes producing the blurring of Maui's supposed celestial qualities and the emergence of human traits. Because of their awareness of similarities among gods and heroes the world over, European biographers of Maui have attempted by monistic theories of origin and evolutionary schemes of development to account for what today is called a "hero pattern." In so doing, they have called attention to such interesting literary processes at work in Polynesian mythology as the syncretism of heroes, the substitution of one for another in adventures, and the custom of adding mythological heroes to human genealogies.

Field workers in Polynesia who have collected Maui myths have dealt with the problem of Maui primarily from the historical point of view. Because the myths seem ancient, are widely distributed in Oceania, and have so many motifs like those of the Old World, they appear to offer promising clues to the origin of the Polynesians and the history of their migrations into the Pacific.

As foregoing discussion has shown, Polynesians have innumerable versions of myths about Maui. Maui's Oceanic biographers have created and recreated him over and over during the course of centuries. Ideas about him pile up, are worked together, fall apart, and are revised into new versions. The psychological re-creation of Maui and his myths can be illustrated from many islands. It is commonplace to refer to the fluidity of myth-elements and the fact that local cultural needs produce secondary local reinterpretations. Incidents and

motifs pass from Maui to other heroes and vice versa even in the same island group; the combination of elements changes; new may be added, others omitted; the interpretation of the hero's character may be changed for some reason and affect both the content and order of incidents.

However, despite the diversity of local adaptations, one wonders anew, even while reading the variant biographies of Maui, at the remarkable stability of association between the name of Maui and certain adventures. Even though these adventures have no dependent relation, they often follow the same order in the cycle. Diffusion, not independent invention, is obviously the reason for this repetition in sequence.

Striking differences between variants of the Maui cycle occur in various islands and sometimes even in the same island. Certain variants of the cycle are of particular interest because of the way in which the hero's native biographers have revised the ancient hero and his adventures to suit current needs. In Rarotonga, for example, a priestly narrator has re-aligned and subordinated the hero's adventures to a leitmotif, that of revenge. In the Tuamotus and the Marquesas, the myths have been reinterpreted from the point of view of a strongly marked romanticism. A psychological reorientation has also occurred in the Society Islands, but there it is religious, not romantic. In New Zealand, the Arawa artist reorganized the plot to achieve a dramatic denouement. In Pukapuka, the gods put Maui through a series of tests of his intellect. According to a Rotuman variant, Maui competed with a marplot Tukarusi; in Tonga he and his father competed in slaying monsters, whereas New Hebrideans tell how Maui and his grandson tried to outdo each other in great deeds. These are especially outstanding methods of native biographers to effect reinterpretation. Rarotongans and Society Islanders have also tried to treat the cycle as history or legend. Few versions of the Maui myths have missed some such treatment. In Tonga, the development of the hero's role as a monster-slayer reveals Melanesian literary influence.

The process of orienting the material to a certain perspective is one of the most vital methods of creative change. It sets into motion other processes to adjust inconsistencies in the sequence and significance of events, in the settings of time and place, and the characters and relations of the *dramatis personae*. Justice can be done to the peculiarly individual nature of this means of integration only by examining specific cycles. The New Zealand Arawa cycle has been presented (pp. 38-51). Next, the priestly version of the Maui cycle from the Society Islands will be discussed, to be followed by other versions, to illustrate how Maui's Oceanic biographers have made him a man-god of eight heads, with as many different functions and personalities, by revising the more widely spread view of him as a happy-go-lucky boy.

## MAUI AS A STODGY CITIZEN

The boisterous and deceitful Maui-tiiti (Maui-tiki-tiki) bears an unfamiliar aspect in the priestly chants of the Society Islands. Theological whitewash thinly disguises the trickster qualities of a hero notorious for his contemptuous defiance and rebellion against the social and natural order established by ancestors, gods, and priests. Here he is a serious, hardworking, religious demi-god who works soberly and industriously for the gods and men. He props up the sky and then finds someone to chip away the rough edges tidily with an adz and arrange the constellations in place. Next he sets to work regulating the course of the sun. His dominant motive is to get the physical world arranged so that his oldest brother, Maui-mua, can establish temples and dedicate them to the god Taaroa (Tangaroa).

Why should the priests of the Society Islands have rationalized Maui's behavior and "tapped" him as a member of their conservative circle? The religious history of the archipelago gives the answer.

A vigorous sect composed of Taaroa's ambitious worshipers was gaining strength. The wars won by his disciples proved the power of Taaroa to be superior to the opposing and competing sects which worshiped Tane, Raa, Tu, and other gods. More islands, more people, and more priests were increasingly testifying to Taaroa's mana and his care for his followers.

A god had to get results to keep his worshipers satisfied, or they publicly and ceremoniously cast him off and adopted a new god, perhaps one of proved merit who was advancing the destinies of a neighboring island (Henry, 147, p. 178; Luomala, 174). "The spiritual power of a god depended on the temporal power of its worshipers, consolidated and retained by success in war," writes Buck about the birth and death of Polynesian gods (42, p. 13).

Taaroa's priests reinterpreted the existing mythology to reinforce with oral sanctions the superiority of their god and to establish their claims for his priority to all others in the pantheon. They made him the uncreated creator of the world and all the gods, and worked diligently to revise the current recensions of myths and traditions in accordance with their new interpretation.

Maui was a popular byword for energetic cosmic readjustments. Let him use his mana in the interest of Taaroa and the worshipers of the god, said the priests. They converted Maui into a puppet of Taaroa and held the strings to jerk him into action in his new role. Cooperation with gods, priests, and ancestors, not rebellion, was Maui's cue now.

Eastern Polynesians believe that the world has emerged through a genealogical succession of personified abstract and natural forms to the Earth Mother (Papa) and the Sky Father (Rangi or Atea), who became the parents of the great gods. Sometimes Te Tumu, a male, and Hakahotu, a female, replace either or both of the two other parents; or the four are worked into

the cosmogony in different ways. In Rarotonga, Te Tumu and Papa are the primal parents.

The gods and their children function in various departments of the Polynesian world and its culture. Taaroa in this scheme, among the Maori of New Zealand, is the god of the sea and its products. In other eastern islands he may have different duties but, as in New Zealand, he is only one of several major gods.

The followers of Taaroa in the Society Archipelago, however, revised this mythology. Taaroa, they said, was the first cause, while Te Tumu, Papa, Atea, and Faahotu (Society equivalent of Hakahotu) were merely his created agents or manifestations.

According to the priests, Taaroa later passed much of his authority to his son Oro and gave him the temple (marae) Taputapu-atea at Opoa in south-eastern Raiatea. Raiatea, the old name of which was Havaii (Hawaiki), was formerly the religious center of the Society Archipelago. The religious seminary there drew priests, chiefs, and warriors from a radius of 500 miles to join in its great religious ceremonies and its deliberations over international matters. Opoa was the cradle of royalty and religion, the birthplace of islands, the metropolis of idolatry for an area with a compass of 500 miles, the emporium of Satan, the Mecca of Polynesia. Thus early European missionaries describe its importance. The Arioi Society was said to have originated at Opoa and spread through the islands as a popular missionary organization to win converts for Oro, son of Taaroa. (See Tyerman and Bennet, 197, vol. 1, p. 529; Henry, 147, pp. 95, 119.)

Without the authority and priestly organization which had surrounded Taaroa, it seems unlikely that Oro and his cult could have assumed the international importance found by European discoverers in central Polynesia. That the priests of Oro should have made their god the son of Taaroa, is tacit admission of Taaroa's high position. The chants about Taaroa, the creator, and the clever reorganization of old dogmas to glorify him indicate the extent of priestly manipulations to promote one god of a large pantheon as first in time and spiritual power.

The literary style cultivated by priests of the Society Islands is the learned traditional prose, rhythmic, stately, and solemn. Long usage supported by the teaching of older priests has led to a set sequence of ideas, events, and key phrases and sentences upon which individuals elaborate according to their authority, education, and command of style. Personification, of course, is one of their principal literary devices. They also use parallelism, the repetition of words, phrases, and ideas with slight progressive changes. Balancing antitheses are frequently employed, and emphasis on the directions up and down, seaward and inland, before and behind. Metaphors and similes are abundant.

The priests of Taaroa confidently begin the history of the world. The following account is based on and quoted from Teuira Henry's translation (147, pp. 336 ff) of texts obtained by her grandfather, John Orsmond, a missionary in the Society Islands during the early nineteenth century.

Ta'aroa [Tangaroa] was the ancestor of all the gods; he made everything. From time immemorial was the great Ta'aroa, the Origin. Ta'aroa developed himself in solitude; he was his own parent, having no father or mother. Ta'aroa's natures were myriads. [These natures are then described, but I have omitted them.] Myriads were the natures of Ta'aroa, but there was only one Ta'aroa, above, below, and in the Po (Underworld). Ta'aroa sat in his shell in darkness for millions of ages. The shell was like an egg revolving in endless space, with no sky, no land, no sea, no moon, no sun, no stars. All was darkness; it was continuous, thick darkness. Rumia was the name of that shell of Ta'aroa. Ta'aroa was quite alone in his shell. He had no father, no mother, no elder brother, no sister. There were no people, no beasts, no birds, no dogs. But there was Ta'aroa, and he alone. There was sky space, there was land space, there was ocean space, there was fresh-water space.

Here is a denial of the old mythology. It is almost protesting in its obvious attempt to allay any doubts in the minds of those who recall older descriptions of the origin of the world. It repeatedly affirms the solitude and priority of Taaroa in the universe. It repeatedly denies that any other life but Taaroa exists. The priests have driven the point home, so the time comes to describe by slow steps the next stage in Taaroa's development of the world:

But at last Ta'aroa gave his shell a fillip which caused a crack resembling an opening for ants. Then he slipped out and stood upon his shell, and he looked upon his shell, and he looked and found that he was alone. There was no sound, all was darkness outside. And he shouted, "Who is above there, eh?" No voice. "Who is below there, eh?" No voice. "Who is in front there, eh?" No voice. "Who is in back there, eh?" No voice. There was the echo of his own voice and that was all.

Thereupon Taaroa exclaims with variations on the vast spaces about him. He swims "up, far up, and down, far down" and looks hither and yon and again proves, in case anyone still doubts it, that there is nothing in the world but Taaroa. Then he crawls back into an inner shell in Rumia to be quiescent for eons. At last he emerges and stands upon the outer shell. This he makes into a sky, while the inner shell becomes the foundation of the earth. He names himself Taaroa. Once more the priests insist on the priority of their god: "How great was Taaroa! What gods were all the others? They were only minor, dependent gods! By Taaroa all things existed. Everything belonged to Taaroa."

He makes the great foundation of the earth (*tumu-nui*), puts his spirit into it and names it Taaroa-nui-tumu-tahi. It is to be the husband of the stratum rock (*Papa-raharaha*). Ages of chaos and darkness pass: "There was rapid progress; there was slow progress. There was thinness, and there was darkness."

Taaroa next creates different kinds of rocks, earth, and sand:

He took his spine for a mountain range, his ribs for a mountain slope, his vitals for broad floating clouds . . . his finger nails and toe nails for scales and shells for the fishes; his feathers for trees, shrubs, and creepers to clothe the earth; and his intestines for lobsters, shrimps, and eels for the rivers and the sea; and the blood of Ta'aroa got heated and drifted away for redness for the sky and for rainbows . . . It was the incantation of Ta'aroa that made the substance of the land land; Havai'i [Raiatea] became land by Ta'aroa's incantation. Then Ta'aroa molded the substance of the land, and he shook it, and it yielded not. And he exclaimed, "What good property I have in this land of mine!"

He conjures forth the god Tu as his artisan and gives him orders:

Ta'aroa commanded, saying, "Lay out the sand for my small canoe! Lay out the sand for my big canoe! Run and do, run and do, run and do until all is done!" And Tu spread out the land, he ran and did as Ta'aroa commanded him. [Next they created roots.] There were tens of roots. There were hundreds of roots. There were thousands of roots. There were myriads of roots. Roots that spread upwards and roots that spread downwards. Roots that spread inland and roots that spread seawards. As roots spread they held the sand; the land became firm.

Next the sky is extended and propped upon pillars. The extended space is Atea. Life quickens in the sea, in the rivers and on the land: "Ta'aroa looked below, and he looked above, and he laughed on seeing what was revealed to him."

He conjures forth gods. He creates gods. Taaroa and Atea [a female at this time] bear Tane, who is only a placenta, a shapeless nothing like a huge jellyfish. The spirit of Taaroa directs the work to make Tane handsome and possessed of many attributes. Tane becomes the god of beauty: "Tane was a very great god. Ta'aroa made him great and all his greatness emanated from Ta'aroa. All Tane's work was beautiful."

Such patronage must have made Tane's followers writhe! Oro and Roo are Taaroa's sons. Taaroa conjures forth the first man, Tii (Tiki), and human beings soon cover the earth. "But all was still in the thick darkness of the close sky of Rumia, in Havai'i, the birthplace of land; Havai'i, the birthplace of gods; Havai'i, the birthplace of kings; Havai'i, the birthplace of man."

The gods are discontented in the darkness, so Tu conjures forth death on an octopus which holds earth and sky together. Artisans are sent to cut away the clinging arms of the octopus. "But they only went up and looked upon Atea [whose sex the priests had changed to male], they did not reach forth their hands to touch him. They dreaded his majesty! They took their baskets of adzes that remained under their arms and went home."

The gods go forth too, but they also put their adzes back into their baskets, in terror of Atea, and go home.

Then are born the *atua-ta'ata*, the demi-gods. Maui is one of them, destined to be one of the noble, conscientious helpmeets who will risk their lives

to separate the truculent Atea from the earth. He and Tane, god of beauty, are going to make the earth a beautiful and sunny place with wide, blue skies.

Maui-tiitii is the great grandson of Atea and Faahotu. He is the grandson of Ru-the-sky-propper, and the son of Ru's daughter, Uahea (Huahenga), and Hihi-ra, or Sun-ray. The other Maui children are Maui-mua, Maui-muri, Maui-roto, Maui-taha, and Maui-potii, or Hina-hina-toto-io. Potii (Potiki) means girl in the Society dialect, which explains the identification of Potii as Hina, the sister of the Mauis. Maui-tiitii, the sixth and youngest child in the Maui family, is also called Maui-of-the-placenta and Maui-of-the-eight-heads. Another version of Maui's parentage in the Society Islands gives Taraa (Taranga) as the father which is more in keeping with the rest of Polynesia (Ahnne, 4). The priestly substitution of Sun-ray for Taraa as Maui's father gives the hero a more noble birth than he would otherwise have and provides the narrators with a chance to play on words. *Ra* means the sun, and by dropping the unaspirated *ng* and final *a* in Taraa in the name Maui-tiitii-a-Taraa, the hero becomes Maui-tiitii-a-te-ra (Maui-tiitii-son-of-the-sun).

Maui, prematurely born and enveloped in the placenta, looks like a jellyfish. His parents not knowing there is a living thing in the ugly birth, wrap it in a girdle of breadfruit bark, tie it with a hairdress (*ti'iti'i*), and cast it into the sea with a prayer.

His ancestors of the sea, Roura and Rofero, sons of Taaroa and Papanaharaha, find the bundle, open it, and see a little boy with one large head and six (*sic*) small ones around the neck. They nurse him in the coral cave beneath the ocean until he grows up. "Does he know whence he came?" they ask and then add, "Nothing can escape that sort of man with eight heads! Look how reflective he is!"

Maui returns to Fare-ana (House-cave), his mother's home, and knocks at the door, a modern touch. His mother inquires, "Who are you?" and he answers, "Why, I am Maui, of course." Uahea replies, "Here are Maui-mua, Maui-muri, Maui-roto, Maui-taha, and Maui-potii; all these five Mauis are here together in this Fare-ana, and from whence then comes another Maui?"

Maui then tells his story in detail, and remains with Uahea and his brothers and sisters.

This was the Maui who drew up the sky and traveled over it to the land; this was the Maui who noosed the sun, and many more works did he do. But as for great Maui-mua, Maui-the-first, he slept huddled up and panting in the confined darkness. Prayers could not be properly conducted at that period and a temple to pray in could not be made.

Ru, Maui's grandfather, has raised the sky part of the way and propped it up with the flat tops of arrowroot, umbrella trees, and tall tree coral. But the arduous labor makes his eyes bulge; he gets humpbacked and ruptured, and has to stop work. Tino-rua tries to finish the job and fails. Then Maui-

tiitii determines to cut away the arms of the octopus and separate Atea and Rumia for his king, Rehua-i-te-rai. He raises the sky to a good height and goes for ropes to tie the land, for stones to prop the sky, and for wedges to thrust through the gaps of the sky still adhering to the earth. He goes for workmen to come and dig away the sky to separate it from the earth. He flies up to Tane in the tenth heaven and asks for help. Tane, god of beauty, says he will come himself, and sorts out the shells and adzes which will be best for the work. When Tane has finished his work on the sky, prayers resound with eloquence through the land.

The skies were still in confusion; there was no place for the sun, no place for the moon, and the stars had no set places, all were gliding about in confusion. This was the period when the people erected their first temple. It was built at Opoa in Havai'i and was dedicated by Maui-mua, the first priest, to the great Ta'aroa, of whom it was said, "Ta'aroa is a being, a king, who grew and swam in the depths of space." The people built themselves houses, and cultivated the soil, and presented their peace offerings in a becoming manner to their god, Ta'aroa; and Maui, the priest, entered fully upon his sacerdotal duties, while the sky was in confusion.

Tane orders Maui to go to the king, Rai-tupua, and ask him to set the sky in order. Rai-tupua does this and then looks about the world "with its rivers and land; its weeds, flowers, sugarcane, bananas, plantains, sweet potatoes, and yams; its animals, the dogs and rats, but still no pigs and fowls. There was a settlement, houses for the people, and a temple to pray in."

There is, however, a drawback to this world. No work can be properly accomplished because the sun rises and sets too soon, and food cannot be properly cooked before night. When Maui-mua sets out with a flotilla to visit all the islands and establish temples and the priesthood which he has trained, night falls before he sails far. At daylight he fishes up land that has been jambed beneath the ocean. Night falls. At Faana Island, he builds a temple, Apoo-ao, but only the chief cornerstone is laid before darkness. Next day, the wall is being made when night comes. As a temporary measure Maui-mua counts the rays of the sun, and makes 10 ropes, one for each ray, and ties the rays to a rock and finishes the temple wall with his artisans. Then he releases the rays. He ends his work, leaves priests with the new temple, and returns to Havaii to consult with the gods and people as to means of prolonging the day.

Maui-the-eight-headed determines to snare the sun to help his brother and also because his mother's mouth is irritated by half-cooked food. With many ropes, one a braided rope of his sister Hina's hair, he snares the sun, boastfully threatens it, and makes it promise to go more slowly so that Uahea can cook her food and Maui-mua can build his temples. He weakens the sun by trampling on it and lets it limp away feebly. Vai-rorea (Water-pushed-up) is the name of Maui's ropes still to be seen in the sun.

So the world became perfect, two ovens of food were cooked in a day, and people were satisfied with properly prepared victuals. Work was then done with system. Maui

was pleased with his father, the sun, and all the world was also pleased with him. The world was then changed. The sea rolled, and it was evening; the sea rolled and it was day.

This ends the biography of Maui-tiitii as narrated by priests and chiefs of the Society Islands as part of their efforts to prove that Taaroa was the first cause, the greatest of gods, and the power which created the world, its gods and people.

Thus the exploits and character of Maui-tiitii have been readapted to harmonize with the religion, cosmogony, and culture of a later and more sophisticated section of society. Two features distinguish this version of the Maui cycle: (1) the introduction of the cycle into the religious cosmogony by linking Maui's career with the gods and the creation of the world through the episodes of raising the sky and snaring the sun; (2) the interpolation of the priestly episodes into the Maui cycle. The priest, Maui-mua, is introduced as the oldest brother of Tiitii, who is torpid until the culture hero has prepared the world for him. When early sunsets baffle the priest, the youngest brother's exploit of snaring the sun is adapted to the cosmogony by the simple expedient of doubling the motivation for the deed. To the usual motive—the mother's complaint about raw food—is added the brother's complaint that he cannot get temples built before dark (Luomala, 171).

The only trickster detail, reminiscent of Maui-tiitii's usual character, is his bragging to the snared sun. His bragging and egotism are his most persistent characteristics throughout Oceania. Non-priestly variants of the Maui myths from the Society Islands reveal his typical trickster qualities (Baessler, 13, p. 920). The theft of fire is absent; instead, the cosmogony has Mahuie (Mahuika) and her husband invent fire by trial and error and give it to the world. The theme of fishing up islands is often used in its metaphorical sense of discovery, as in the Tahitian version when Maui-mua fishes up land while on his journey to establish temples for Taaroa. According to an isolated chant collected by Moerenhout (Luomala, 173), Maui, presumably Maui-tiitii, literally fishes up part of Hawaii from the depths of the sea.

Two versions of Maui's rescue of Hina, apparently not his sister, from Tuna, the eel, show Maui in the same noble light as the cosmogony. Told as romances, the myths describe how Maui leaves his happy home when Hina asks him to save her from Tuna. Maui expeditiously kills Tuna, gives Hina some good advice, and goes home to his own wife. The narrator of the romance traces her descent from this Hina (Henry, 147, pp. 615, 619), which perhaps accounts for the mildness of the myth in contrast to the drama described earlier and performed in the Tuamotus.

The prominence of Maui-mua in the theology of the Society Archipelago requires special mention. Chants for religious purposes were named after this priest who established the first temple to Taaroa and was the first priest. Maui-

marae and Maui-fatarau were the names of chants used in renewal ceremonies. Maui-tifai referred to certain sacrifices performed hastily. Maui-faatare were sacrifices offered to gods before voyages. (See Henry, 147, pp. 162, 429; Ellis, 87, vol. 1, p. 349; Tregear, 286, p. 235.)

Maui-mua is said to have gone with his flotilla to build temples for his king, Ama-tai-atea. He went east to the Tuamotus and Mangareva; south to Tubuai, Rimatara, Rurutu, Mangaia, Rarotonga, New Zealand, and other islands; west to the Samoan and other island groups; and north to the Marquesas and Hawaii (Henry, 147, p. 464).

Natives of Makemo Island in the Tuamotus believe that Maui-manamana built a number of temples at Paparua, Tahiti. Manamana is another Tuamotuan epithet for Tikitiki. The incident reflects a belief in the presence of priestly functions associated with the Maui family, but Tuamotuans have not named one brother a priest and the other a culture hero, as in the Society Islands. Although Caillot (50, p. 26) refers to the Tuamotuan Tikitiki and Manamana as if they were two distinct Maui children, Kenneth Emory informs me that this is the result of Caillot's mistranslation of the native text.

Austral Islanders, who have only scraps of information about anyone called Maui, refer to him as a *tahu'a*, which is what Tahitians call Maui-mua. It is the generic term for priests or magicians (Maori, *tohunga*; Hawaii, *kahuna*). The Austral Islanders say that Maui came from the north from, or by way of, the Tuamotus to Raivavae in the Australs, where he built a marae. With a stone from it, he went to build temples at Tubuai, Rurutu, Rimatara, and the Cook Islands. He finally went to Hawaii-te-po, the underworld. Others say Hiro did this; the two characters, Maui and Hiro, are confused by Austral residents. Maui also appears in Austral genealogies and in the myth of the origin of fire (Aitken, 5, pp. 5, 103).

Apparently Austral Islanders have assimilated—or no longer clearly distinguish between them—the two different Maui's, as do Society Islanders, but have preserved a tradition about a Maui who established maraes and got fire for mankind.

According to the sacred lore of New Zealand, Maui-mua, the oldest Maui, was a teacher in the temple, Wharau-rangi, located in the mysterious homeland, Irihia (Smith, 250, vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 82).

Society Islanders have a tradition that several native prophets in former times had the name of Maui. The most celebrated lived at Raiatea and predicted the coming of a canoe without an outrigger. Another predicted the arrival of a canoe without ropes or cordage. Captain Wallis' ship fulfilled the first prophecy of an outriggerless canoe; the steamship fulfilled the second (Ellis, 87, vol. 1, pp. 382-385).

A variant (Henry, 147, p. 4) of this tradition states that the Raiatean prophet's name was Vaita before he adopted or was given the name of Maui.

This priest probably was named for Maui-mua, not for Maui-tiitii, as one version (Henry, 147, p. 430) identifies Maui-mua, Maui-tiitii's oldest brother, as the prophet who foretold the coming of strange canoes. Some Tahitians say that Hiro really made the prophecy, whereas Mangaians credit it to their greatest god, Tane.

Whatever the historical facts may prove to be concerning the priest Maui-mua, certain general points are clear. (1) Traditions are current in Polynesia, especially in the southern and central regions, about a great priest famed for his leadership in establishing temples and religious rites during a period of colonization. (2) He is now a composite figure whose exploits and personality have been built up through local priests identifying themselves with him or being identified with him, adopting his name and adding their accomplishments to the legendary record already credited to him. (3) A process of assimilation with the Maui family, of which Maui-tikitiki is the best known, has taken place. The eldest Maui is named the priest in the Society Islands, whence his fame has diffused southward, even to New Zealand. Smaller islands with less highly organized priesthoods know Maui-tikitiki best and adapt new stories about the Maui family to this hero rather than to other members of the family. (4) Raiatea is particularly closely associated with Maui-mua and his admirers.

In conclusion, Maui's biography, as told in the Society Islands by priests promoting the cult of Taaroa, shows that the trickster qualities so often assigned to Maui-tikitiki throughout Oceania are literary elements which can be omitted without appreciably destroying the cycle. The trickster qualities, then, do not spring up independently and spontaneously wherever Maui myths are told. They have diffused as part of the Maui-complex and, in most instances, have been maintained. Their wide distribution indicates that they are very old and beloved by narrators. Versions of myths without the trickster elements are exceptional. When they are absent, one can suspect that a narrator has an ax to grind.

In the Society Islands, the ambitions of a particular sect to create a theology in support of Taaroa and their own spiritual and worldly plans have led to the reinterpretation of Maui's personality and career to fit into the new dogma. His rebellious traits did not suit the scholarly narrators' ideas of appropriateness. They eliminated them, but popular versions in the archipelago retained them. Maui in the Society Islands accomplished great things for the world in cooperation with the gods rather than in spite of them as is usually the case. Plots of his exploits were altered to dovetail with the new theology, but skeletons of the old forms are still recognizable. Maui's oldest brother was singled out for particular development as a great priest who served Taaroa, while the youngest brother helped out that priest and the children of the creator in finishing the physical organization of the universe.

## REVIVING THE MANGAREVAN MAUI

## PROCEDURE

Maui is moribund in Mangareva (the Gambiers), a volcanic group not far from the easternmost of the Tuamotuan atolls and 900 miles southeast of Tahiti. Notes about the hero have the lifelessness of a death mask and read like an obituary. Perhaps the forthcoming autopsy will raise the ghost of Maui, or, if a little life remains, fan the feeble spark so that we can see what he was like in his heyday.

It would have been impossible to revive the Mangarevan Maui before 1938. Until that date so little had been published about Mangarevan mythology that there was not enough material to reconstruct even a blurry facsimile of the hero, his character, and career as known to Mangarevans in pre-European and early European times. In 1938, Peter H. Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa) published his "Ethnology of Mangareva" (275), which contains an extensive collection of Mangarevan mythology and chants. They give many clues to the meaning of previously published details about Maui which until now have been so obscure as to be useless. The same year saw the publication of Father Laval's notable manuscript on Mangarevan culture written a hundred years earlier (161).

The first step in reconstructing the Mangarevan biography of Maui will be to assemble, compare, and clarify the scattered notes about him. References to information about him in other islands will be invoked when they contribute toward understanding the source material. The second step will be to review Mangarevan mythology to see how narrators have followed a characteristic local literary style or pattern in describing the careers of certain mythological heroes. The pattern mirrors Mangarevan beliefs and customs. The third step will be to demonstrate how the notes about Maui retain the outlines of the local literary pattern and traces of variation from it.

When to the stock pattern of the Mangarevan hero, we add the trimmings peculiar to Maui and animate him by putting him through his paces of wrangling with jealous brothers and fishing up land, we can visualize, at least vaguely, what Maui was like in Mangareva before Christianity changed the native culture.

## SOURCE MATERIAL

Published records of Maui in Mangareva consist, with the exception of three versions of the myth of fishing up land and one of raising the sky, of incidental summary notes. They are sufficient, however, to establish the names of Maui's parents and brothers and the presence of the three familiar themes of earth-fishing, sky-raising, and sun-snaring.

The only lengthy published narrative account of Maui's Mangarevan career was obtained by Buck and deals with the fishing up of land. The following

summary is based on his abridged translation of the native text (275, pp. 310-312).

Maui-matavaru's seven older brothers were jealous of him because his mother, Toa-rupe, and his grandfather, Te Rupe, favored him. (The father's name has been forgotten.) When the brothers would not let him go fishing with them, Maui took the form of a rat and hid in a coil of rope in the canoe. Taking human form at the fishing ground, he asked his brothers for bait. They refused harshly. At last Tumaiauaia, the seventh brother, gave him a little. Immediately Maui caught a large fine *urua*. He refused to share it with his brothers and gave it to his grandfather, who was happy to receive such a perfect fish. Promising Maui something great, he said cryptically, "Tutira will stretch and so will Horoega and Tenata." On the next fishing trip, Maui took the shape of a lizard. When the brothers found him they were going to throw him overboard. Tumaiauaia interceded, "Don't do that, for that person is Maui." This time all refused him bait, so Maui tore off his ear. With this as bait he caught a huge fish, land. The boat was paddled to shore where the mother danced and rejoiced among the excited people. As Maui was about to leap on the fish to secure it, the hook loosened and the fish got away. When Te Rupe heard of the disaster he asked Maui why he had not come to him first to learn the proper procedure. Then Maui went home.

Dumont d'Urville, who visited Mangareva in 1838, published one version of sky-raising and two of earth-fishing. He records (84, vol. 3, p. 166) that

Maui, who was only a man, went fishing with some companions. Having no bait, he cut off an ear and put it on his hook. When he drew up various lands from the ocean, his companions tried to claim them so he spitefully let the lands go. Only Mangareva remained and he kept it for himself.

Coupvent, a member of Dumont d'Urville's crew, narrates a similar story (84, vol. 3, p. 387, quoted by Cuzent, 75, p. 270) :

Maui was a god whose companions refused him any bait so he cut off an ear. When they tried to take the lands he fished up, he angrily shook his line three times. The lands fell back into the sea until only Mangareva, of which he took possession, was left.

The sky was so close on this new island that Maui could not stand up straight and the smoke bothered him. With a thrust of his shoulder he raised the sky to its present position. His next deed was to give birth to the Mangarevans; the fable does not say in what manner.

Other references to Maui consist only of random notes derived from manuscripts of missionaries to Mangareva. Father Honoré Laval, whose zeal was to alter profoundly the native beliefs, arrived in Mangareva in 1834 with a native of New Zealand in his party, significant to note because of similarities between Maori and Mangarevan versions of Maui's exploits (Luomala, 171, p. 37). In 1836, Laval began to assemble records of the culture, including references to Maui, in the native language. Later a convert, Tiripone, compiled these records under Laval's direction. Copies, and copies of copies, of this manuscript circulated in Mangareva among both Europeans and native residents. Excerpts, often mutilated, were frequently published from it without acknowledgment of the source (O'Reilly, 206).

Laval (161, pp. 297, 303) states that Maui was an extraordinary person in the mythology who raised the sky higher than it was and, with "certain ropes," halted the sun in its too precipitous course. The priest adds that Te Rupe, Maui's grandfather, lived in Te Hakatuturaga, the fourth district of Te Matagi which is the second division of the other world, Po. He gave the hero "un baton puissant" with which to fish up land. Maui distributed the earth he drew up among his brothers. Laval also states that the fifth district in Te Matagi is called "The-great-kava-of-Maui" (Te Kava-nui-o-Maui). No other Mangarevan record mentions this mysterious region.

A note (97, pp. 36, 59; Smith, 252, p. 131), perhaps derived from a Laval manuscript, states that there were eight Maui's, one of whom, Maui-matavaru, fished up Mangareva with Te Rupe's hook of mother-of-pearl. The great Avaiki escaped and slipped back into the depths. The hero also stopped the sun in its course with a hair rope.

According to Caillot (50, p. 155), who probably also derived his information from Laval but amended it, Maui was a demi-god and grandson of Te Rupe, secondary god of the night. He lassoed the sun with a hair rope and regulated its speed. With human ears for bait, Maui, who ruled fire, and Ru, who controlled the waters, fished up Mangareva. The islands of the Tuamotus, Tahiti, Rarotonga, Samoa, and Honolulu (*sic*) got away. Maui was of the same race as Tekana and Eremai. Unmentioned in other Mangarevan literature, they are still unidentified.

Bishop Maigret of Laval's time obtained his information independently of Laval and his manuscripts, as did the Bishop of Axieri, who was in Mangareva in the early nineteenth century. Maigret's manuscript (186) lists Mangarevan gods with an occasional descriptive note. Nauenga is given as the father and Toa-te-rupe as the mother of eight Maui children. In the order of Maigret's list, the first five children, each with the introductory name of Maui, are Mua, Muri, Taha (more correctly in Mangarevan, Taa), Roto, and Aka-tikitiki-atanga. Then, without the preliminary name of Maui, come Toare-maturau and Tumaiaua. Last of all is Maui-matavaru "who made the Mangarevan sky." After his name comes that of Te Rupe, "who gave power to Maui-matavaru."

Tregear "literary legatee" of the Bishop of Axieri in Polynesian matters (286, pp. 236, xii and 288, p. 50; Buck, 275, p. 12), states:

Maui drew the land up from the ocean, uplifted the firmament, and tied the sun with tresses of hair. His father was Ataraga; his mother, Uaega. There were eight Maui—viz: Maui-mua, Maui-muri, Maui-Toere-Mataroa, Tumei-Hau-Hia, Maui-tikititoga, Maui-Matavaru, Maui-Taha, Maui-Roto. Maui the Eight-eyed (*matavaru*) was our hero. He was born from his mother's navel, and was brought up by his grandfather, Te Rupe, who gave him a magic staff named Atua-Tane, and hatchet named Iraiapatapata.

## COMPARISON OF SOURCES

## THE EIGHT MAUIS

There are eight Maui children, according to Mangarevans. However, in the rest of Oceania, three, five, or six Maui's to a family are the most frequent numbers. Any other number is atypical.

Except for differences in spelling and sequence, Maigret and Tregear agree on the names of the Maui children. The sequence of the eight names is important, for, as will be discussed later, the last three names may originally have been additional epithets for Maui-tikitiki and later used to designate three different Maui's.

Several sources confirm Maigret's sequence of Maui-mua, Maui-muri, Maui-taa, Maui-roto, Maui-aka-tikitiki-a-tanga, Toare-maturau, Tumaiauaia, and Maui-matavaru. The first five names also appear in Society Island and Tuamotuan variants, whence Mangarevans doubtless got them. Mua, as the native term implies, was the first child; Maui-tikitiki was fifth; the sequence of Muri, Taa, and Roto, who are between those two, differs in each variant. That Mangarevan storytellers invented three more Maui's—whom they named Toare-maturau, Tumaiauaia, and Matavaru—is established by the fact that none of the Maui's in other islands bears these descriptive terms. Maigret's sequence with Tumaiauaia as the seventh brother and Matavaru as the eighth is corroborated in Buck's version of fishing up land. Toare-maturau fits into the only place left, the sixth, which is where Maigret has him.

The names of the four younger Maui's (Aka-tikitiki-a-tanga, Toare-maturau, Tumaiauaia, and Matavaru) are spelled differently by Maigret and Tregear. The fifth child, whose name is spelled Maui-aka-tikitiki-a-tanga or Maui-tikitiki-toga, is, without question, Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga. *Aka* or *'aka* is a causative. The Bishop of Axieri gives Ataraga as the father of the Mangarevan Maui's (the missionaries used *g* to signify *ng*). The *a* preceding the name Taranga indicates that the preposition "of" or "belonging to" has been incorporated into the name of the parent whose only distinction is his heroic son. Incorporating the prefix into the name itself sometimes represents, it seems to me, the recorder's misunderstanding rather than native terminology. Whether Mangarevans, to make a pun the meaning of which is now forgotten, or European recorders dropped the *ra* from the name of Maui's father is unknown.

The meaning and correct spelling of Toare-maturau or Toere-mataroa, the sixth Maui, are mysteries. Mataroa means "long eye" or "long face." Maturau may be a misspelling of *matarau*, the name of a fish. The meaning of Toare or Toere is unknown. Tumeiauaia is probably the correct form of the seventh brother's name rather than Tregear's Tumei-Hau-Hia or Maigret's Tumaiauaia. *Tumei* is the Mangarevan and Marquesan name for a breadfruit

tree or its bark. It will be recalled that Society Islanders say that the eight-headed Maui-tikitiki, a misbirth, was wrapped in his mother's headdress and a girdle of breadfruit bark before he was thrown into the ocean. Tumeiaua may refer to this girdle.

Matavaru, the epithet for the eighth and heroic Maui, means eight-eyed or eight-faced, but has acquired a secondary meaning of eight in the Mangarevan myth. It is unfortunate that the meanings of Tumeiaua and Toare-maturau were lost. Like Matavaru they were undoubtedly descriptive names. How the names of Matavaru, Tumeiaua, and Toare-maturau came to be used for the Maui children, who are younger than Maui-aka-tikitiki-a-Tanga, is described below.

#### PARENTS OF THE MAUIS

Confusion in the notes about the parents of the Maui's disappears upon comparison. Taranga was the father. The mother had two names, Uaenga and Toa-te-rupe. Because her father's name was Te Rupe and because she was his first daughter (*toa*) by his senior wife, Uaenga was also called Toa-te-rupe in his honor, according to Mangarevan custom. Buck writes (275, p. 124), "The use of prefixes was convenient but not compulsory. The system is sometimes used by people in narrating legendary stories as a convenience when they do not remember the proper names."

Maigret, who gives Nauenga as the father of Maui and Toa-te-rupe as the mother, apparently misunderstood his informant. *Na* is a prefix meaning "from"; Nauenga means "from Uaenga." Evidently the informant, in preparing to name the eight Maui children, recited both names of the mother, "From Uaenga, Toa-te-rupe, were Maui-mua, etc."

Uaenga will be recognized as Huahenga, Uahea, and Uenga who is Maui's mother in the Tuamotus, Society Islands, and Rarotonga. No transfer of this name has ever been made to the parent of the opposite sex, as often happens in the case of the name Taranga. Huahenga as the mother and Taranga as the father appear in central Polynesian variants, pointing, like the names of the first five Maui's, to the region whence Mangarevans acquired some of their knowledge about the Maui family.

#### THE GRANDFATHER, TE RUPE

No other island names Te Rupe as Maui's grandfather. In New Zealand, Maui-mua, the eldest Maui boy, was called Rupe (Pigeon) when he took pigeon form to seek his sister, who committed suicide after Maui-tikitiki had transformed her husband into a dog. Though Rupe's search is described throughout Polynesia, only the Maori link the story to the Maui cycle by identifying Rupe as Maui-mua and Maui-tikitiki as the cause of the girl's

disappearance. In New Zealand, the Tuamotus, and Mangaia, Maui-tikitiki assumes the shape of a pigeon to fly to the underworld to see his parents and to get fire. Marquesans say he took pigeon form to find his abducted wife. The Nga-Puhi of New Zealand narrate that Maui put his spirit into a pigeon which flew to heaven to help him draw up land. His spirit is still in the pigeon, whose cooing at night presages ill fortune (White, 306, vol. 2). Another Maori myth declares that Rupe taught people to make and use stone axes (White, 306, vol. 1, p. 86).

The name Rupe occurs so frequently in Maui stories of New Zealand and central Polynesia that its presence in the Mangarevan cycle of Maui cannot be due to chance. However, the precise historical connection and the manner in which Rupe came to be known in Mangareva as Maui's maternal grandfather are unknown.

Te Rupe, writes Maigret (186), gave mana to Maui-matavaru. He also gave him a magic staff named Atua-Tane, a hatchet named Iraiapatapata and a fishhook of pearl shell. As Buck's version (275) states, Te Rupe promised and would have given Maui even more magical power, enough to have prevented his losing the land he fished up, had Maui consulted him before going fishing. The meaning of Te Rupe's statement that "Tutira will stretch and so will Horoega and Tenata" is unknown. The closest parallels to the names occur in a list of islands known to Mangarevans (Buck, 275, pp. 99-100). Making allowances for orthographic differences, the names are Teuata (?Tenata) and Tutuira-Orohenga (?Tutira, Horega). I do not know whether the Mangarevan term Horoega or Orohenga can be equated to Orofena or to Arowhena of Hawaiki or to Mount Orofena of Tahiti.

That pearl shell was one of the materials Mangarevans made into fishhooks, explains Te Rupe's gift of a fishhook. Maui's staff was apparently one of the polished wooden staves Mangarevan chiefs carried as symbols of their position. Why it should have been named Atua-Tane (God-Tane) is unknown. Tane was of minor importance in Mangareva at the beginning of the historical period. A fragment of myth calling him a fisherman is interesting because Laval states that Maui fished up land with "un baton puissant" given him by Te Rupe. The meaning of Iraiapatapata is obscure; and identifying it as a hatchet is European, for Mangarevans did not have hatchets in pre-discovery times.

#### MAUI'S EXPLOITS

As to the great exploits of Maui-matavaru, Mangarevans narrate that he fished up land, raised the sky, and snared the sun. He already had a reputation before he went fishing, for Tumeiauia warned his older brothers when they planned to drown Maui to "Be careful, for that man is Maui."

Not even a fragmentary version of the sun-snaring myth has been preserved, but its outlines can be reconstructed from two details. Maui used hair ropes, according to Mangarevan notes quoted above, to snare the sun; this detail links the Mangarevan myth with that told in the Tuamotus, the Marquesas, Rapa, Manihiki, Rakahanga, and the Society Islands (Luomala, 171). The second detail about the Mangarevan variant occurs in Tregear's dictionary to illustrate the use of the number eight (288). Tregear quotes what seems to be a line from the myth of Maui snaring the sun, "I te varu, kua tiki ki te toura rou oho; the eighth time he sought a rope of hair." The line is true to the spirit of Maui's adventures as told in other islands (Luomala, 171). Maui fails many times until he gets a rope of a woman's hair; or, of all the various kinds of ropes he uses at one time, only a rope of hair holds the sun. Laval's reference to Maui using "certain ropes" has a subjectively evasive ring. Maui uses, in central Polynesia, strands of a female relative's pubic hair to make a magical sun-snaring rope. That he should fail seven times and succeed the eighth is consonant with Mangarevan emphasis on the number eight.

Coupvent's variant (Dumont d'Urville, 84, vol. 3, p. 387) of Maui raising the sky furnishes no outstanding peculiarities. The presence of the theme in Mangareva links the local Maui cycle with those of central Polynesia, for Maui is definitely a sky-raiser in Rarotonga, the Tuamotus, Mangaia, Manihiki, and the Society Islands. A Hawaiian version seems to be very recent. In New Zealand, the Chathams, and the Marquesas, Maui does not figure in the deed. Maigret's statement that Maui-matavaru "made" the sky has no support from other Mangarevan records or from data from elsewhere in Polynesia. Maui was rarely creative; he finished work begun by others.

Mangarevan variants of the myth of fishing up land have incidents comparable to those of eastern Polynesia. Two elements occur also in New Zealand. (1) taking a disguise to hide in the canoe and (2) using his ear when the brothers refuse him bait. Maui's use of his ear for bait was recorded by 1835 among the Maori, apparently from the Nga-Puhi tribe (Yate, 311; White, 306, vol. 2). It is also said that for three months, the pigeon Rupe, with Maui's spirit in him, flew heavenward with the fishline in his beak trying to pull up the land. The Ngati-Hau of New Zealand state that Maui disguised himself as a bird to fly out to his brothers' canoe. Occasionally he takes the shape of an insect. Other Maori versions merely have him hide in his natural form in the canoe until it is far out to sea (White, 306, vol. 2). Mangarevans use the Maori term of *Te Ika-a-Maui* (The-fish-of-Maui) for New Zealand, probably as the result of post-European influence.

Elements frequent elsewhere in Polynesia and not peculiar to Mangarevans and Maori are (1) the use of a magical fishhook, (2) the preliminary catch of a real fish by Maui, (3) the jealousy and distrust of the brothers, (4) their

refusal to let him go fishing, and (5) their sabotage of part of his catch through their eagerness to get a share. Mangarevan earth-fishing variants are usually too fragmentary to determine how closely these elements are related to those found elsewhere. In Buck's version (275) the detail of Te Rupe asking why Maui had not requested help to hold the land recalls the Nga-Puhi version in which birds help Maui. Tuamotuans narrate that Maui lost the land when his brothers violated a tapu but succeeded when he used the magical hook and line of his maternal grandfather in the underworld. According to the Ngati-Hau of New Zealand, he failed at any kind of fishing until he got his grandparent's jaw as a hook. The Nga-i-Tahu narrate that he first caught a *ruo* with his new hook. Manihikians, like Mangarevans, declare that first he caught an *urua*.

Mangarevans tell of Hina's love affair with Tuna (Buck, 275, p. 312), but unlike Maori, Tuamotuans, Marquesans, Hawaiians, and Society Islanders, they do not include Maui in the story.

The origin of fire on earth, generally a part of the Maui cycle elsewhere, is, in Mangareva, part of a myth about Teiti-a-Toakau, who fought a spirit of fire, Pouatako, much as Maui and Mahuika fought in other islands. Teiti-a-Toakau, like Maui in New Zealand and the Chathams, would have perished in the fire had not relatives sent a flood to save him. The flood drove the fire into spirits and stones from which Mangarevans, Maori, and Moriori now get fire. Tuamotuans agree with these islanders that the hero was interested in matching his supernatural power against the fire demon. These parallels between the battle of Maui and Teiti against a fire demon support Buck's suggestion (275, pp. 312, 371) that Mangarevans have substituted Teiti for Maui in the myth about the origin of fire, reinterpreted it, and then forgotten the original tale about Maui.

Affiliations of Mangarevan myths about Maui are, on the one hand, with New Zealand and the Chathams and, on the other hand, with the rest of eastern Polynesia through the Society and Tuamotuan Islands. One wonders how many of the Maori parallels to Mangarevan myths, like the detail of the ear for bait, which are absent from central Polynesia, were introduced into Mangareva by Laval's Maori interpreter.

#### MANGAREVAN HERO PATTERN

Numerous Mangarevan heroes of fiction are said to have developed from a clot of blood which falls from a pregnant woman's navel and is placed in one of the spreading roots of a *Barringtonia* tree, where Mangarevan women place menstrual and similar material (Buck, 275, pp. 119, 335, 359, 365, 426). A spirit from the underworld, usually an elderly relative, finds the clot and takes it home to rear. It grows into an adult male which its foster father

endows with supernatural power and weapons. Because of his human origin, this hero can adjust himself to life in the underworld and on the earth, so he moves freely between the two realms. Sometimes blood clots and misbirths develop into minor, prophetic deities.

Belief in the viability of clots from the navel of a pregnant woman is a peculiar Mangarevan specialization of the general Polynesian belief that miscarriages, abortions, and menstrual blood are viable and will grow into supernatural beings, often with malignant propensities and a gift for prophecy which magicians, acting as mediums, can use. This belief is also found westward, in Indonesia.

The story of Teiti-a-Toakau (Buck, 275, p. 365), which is representative of the Mangarevan hero pattern, is summarized below.

A blood clot comes away from Toakau during her pregnancy and she places it at the foot of a *Barringtonia* tree. Her husband does not know of this incident. An underworld spirit, Moegaroa, finds the lizard-like thing and takes it to the underworld Po for his daughter, Toa-moegaroa, to rear. It is named Teiti-a-Toakau (Child-of-Toakau).

One day during Moegaroa's absence, Teiti's foster mother makes the boy a spear. He throws it into the eye of the chief with whom his foster grandfather is fighting. When Moegaroa discovers that Teiti is guilty, he calls him a lizard from the upper world. The insulted boy weeps and longs to return to the earth. Toa-moegaroa asks her father to give some of his mana to Teiti. After two tests, Teiti is permitted to return to earth, where he sees two children playing games and building a sand house which always falls down. As Teiti makes them a fine house, he tells them he is their brother. The boys tell their mother about their new playmate, but she ignores their gossip. He is again brought to her attention when he carries home a heavy load for his brothers. She gives him supper, and he tells her his story, which she recognizes as true. She introduces him to his father. After this, Teiti performs wonderful deeds which attract heroes to pit their mana against his.

In a battle with Pouatako, a spirit, whose power is in fire, Teiti narrowly escapes burning to death. Toa-moegaroa sees his plight and asks her father to save the boy with perspiration from his armpit. Teiti wins the contest when Moegaroa floods the land and forces the fire spirit to hide himself in stone and wood, whence fire is obtained. After this Teiti fights other heroes and does great things.

The note about the Mangarevan Maui being born from his mother's navel now becomes intelligible in the light of the local fictional pattern. Mangarevans have reinterpreted the story of Maui's origin from a misbirth or menstrual blood, as told in Rotuma, New Zealand, and the Society Islands, to fit their own belief in the viability of umbilical hemorrhages of pregnant women. Related to this story of a hero's birth is the Chatham Islands fragment of myth about Mu and Wheke, or Weka, who in New Zealand are Maui's nurses (in Rotuma, Vea is his nurse; in Samoa, his mother), taking a blood clot and placing it in a hollow tree where it develops into a man. That the particulars of the story are said to be known only to women, points toward the general nature of the clot (Shand, 236, p. 25).

The Mangarevan history of the blood clot from Uaenga's navel which was to become Maui undoubtedly follows the rest of the stylized plot. Te Rupe, his grandfather, found the clot in a *Barringtonia* tree, took it to his home in the underworld, where he reared it into a boy, of whom he became very fond. He taught Maui magical knowledge and gave him magical weapons. Later Maui returned to the upper world, where he met his brothers and parents. Making his relationship known to his relatives through joining them in games and dances is a familiar incident not only in versions of Maui cycles but in other Polynesian hero stories (Luomala, 172).

Another local development of Mangarevan narrators is to make, even for Polynesians, an extraordinarily sharply defined division of the Po, which is all the world not classified as the earth or Ao. Life on a small island led inhabitants to satisfy an urge for more space by subdividing the land under the surface and the atmosphere above them. Though the two are sometimes merged, Mangarevans distinguish between a literary Po, which is just over the next ridge, and a classical Po. The five divisions of the classical Po are Hapai, Te Matagi, Havaiki, Pouaru, and Te Piao (Buck, 275, p. 470).

Beings whom sorcerers invoked, and evil spirits who caused illness and lay in wait to trap wandering souls by fires, lived in Te Matagi, Havaiki, and Pouaru. Havaiki was one of the lands under the sea which Maui fished up with Te Rupe's hook, but lost. In Pouaru, a land of unquenchable fire, lived Pouatako, the spirit who fought a duel of fire with Teiti-a-Toakau and left Mangarevans a heritage of fire in wood and stone. Maui's grandfather lived in Te Hakatutaragi, a section of Te Matagi (The Wind). A fictional hero, Te Ma-tuteagi, who developed from an umbilical hemorrhage of a woman eight months pregnant, was reared in Akatutuaragi (undoubtedly the same as Te Rupe's home) by his mother's unnamed relatives who gave him authority over this region (Buck, 275, p. 359). Moegaroa, Teiti-a-Toakau's grandparent, lived in an unnamed part of the underworld. Moegaroa's name appears in an invocation to Ruanuku and in a genealogy of an earthly chief (Buck, 275, pp. 447, 482). Mangarevan narrators have thus brought the myths about Maui more into line with their literary pattern by localizing them in subdivisions of mythical geographical regions.

Maui recognized his obligations to his grandfather, for he brought him the perfect fish he caught on his first angling trip. Pleased, Te Rupe promised Maui something great, for a present of fish was a token of affection and respect and a large *urua* was usually reserved for the king. The insistence of Maui's brothers that he share his catches of fish and islands with them reflects public opinion that a successful angler should share with his companions and others of the community (Buck, 275, p. 302). Maui-matavaru's resistance to them illustrates an individual's wish to evade this obligation and his feeling that his obligation to Te Rupe was superior to his companions' claims. They had

cause to complain, as Maui was in their canoe, uninvited, and without bait until he used his own ear.

Mangarevan culture and the literary pattern often use the number eight, which is popular throughout Polynesia and to the westward. In the Mangarevan counting system, *varu* means eight units and has come to signify a group count. It is the group count for 160 fish, and fish over that number are reckoned by *varu* up to nine *varu*, or 1,440. Fish are counted by twos, whereas turtles, which are more highly valued, are counted singly, so that a *varu* of turtles is 80 (Buck, 275, p. 417).

Mangarevans have given the number eight an uncommonly institutionalized emphasis. Eight is the number of children which Mangarevan narrators allot to many a heroic or godly family. Tangaroa and Haumea had eight sons, and the eighth got Mangareva as his domain (Buck, 275, pp. 420, 424). The prolific Haumea also had eight sons by another husband (Buck, 275, p. 421). Among the hereditary aristocracy of Mangareva were eight brothers famed for their tattooing (Buck, 275, p. 143). Apakura's eight brothers are not peculiar to the Mangarevan account but also occur in the Rarotongan myth. To display his wealth, a Mangarevan chief, named Tangaroa after the god, built eight houses, the names of which have been preserved (Buck, 275, p. 58). A certain community house was said to have had eight doorways (Buck, 275, p. 231), a metaphorical way of calling it large. From the literal to the poetic use of eight is a short step. A love song tells of a man with eight sweethearts, meaning that he was a general favorite with women (Buck, 275, p. 394).

As stated above, the first five names in the Mangarevan list of Maui brothers occur elsewhere in Polynesia, but the last three, Toare-maturau, Tumeiaua, and Matavaru, are Mangarevan additions to the family. Matavaru means eight-eyes or eight-faced, but, because Maui-matavaru was the eighth Maui, it has acquired the secondary meaning of the adjective eighth (Buck, 275, p. 310).

While only Mangarevans have a Maui-matavaru, Polynesians elsewhere use the epithet for other heroes. In Hawaii, an eight-eyed bat stole Maui's wife, and the hero had to make every eye close in sleep before he could escape with his wife (Thrum, 284, pp. 252-259). Eight-eyes is an honorary and poetic sobriquet for Hawaiian chiefs (Fornander, 103, vol. 1, p. 67). A Tongan eight-eared man had an eight-eyed sister, who slept with only six eyes closed so that she could spy on her unwilling sister-in-law (Collocott, 65, p. 24).

Eight-heads (*Upoko-varu*) is a related epithet. Before she could escape, a Tongan heroine had to lull to sleep the eight heads of the demon who had abducted her (Collocott, 65, p. 14). Maui-tikitiki himself has a supplementary epithet of Eight-heads in Rarotonga and the Society Islands. It is a literal description of his appearance with a secondary interpretation of super-

intelligence. Thus, Eight-heads has, like Eight-eyes, a figurative as well as a literal meaning.

In Mangareva, nothing reveals whether Matavaru was intended as a literal or honorific term for Maui. However, if sophisticated priests of the Society Islands and Rarotonga clung to the literal sense of the epithet Eight-heads, Mangarevans probably have preserved the literal meaning of Matavaru and believe that Maui had eight eyes or eight faces.

However, instead of leaving the epithet as an alternate one for Maui-tikitiki, as Upoko-varu is in central Polynesia, Mangarevans, to satisfy the local pattern for eight children in a legendary family, divorced the two epithets, Tikitiki-a-Taranga and Matavaru, and applied Matavaru to a new Maui child invented by them. They placed Matavaru at the end of the list of eight Maui's because his name incorporated the word eight. This also is a convenient device for memorizing the series of names. The final result is the secondary meaning of Maui-matavaru as Maui-the-eighth.

Toare-maturau and Tumeiauia may also have originally been sobriquets of Maui-tikitiki but, like Matavaru, came to be applied to distinct Maui's to make up the eight children to accord with the Mangarevan pattern. Doubtless, Maui-matavaru and not Maui-tikitiki became the hero of the mischievous and world-shaking pranks because the youngest child of the Maui family is almost always the mischievous trickster.

Following the outlines of the Mangarevan hero pattern, the notes and variants about Maui from Mangareva, and probable incidents and details which myths about him shared with those in neighboring islands, the lineaments of the Mangarevan Maui can be restored to furnish a modern Mangarevan litterateur with material for artistic narrative elaboration. This completes my reconstruction of the skeleton of the Mangarevan Maui and his biography. The breath of life must be added by a Polynesian litterateur.

## MAUI, THE WEARY AVENGER

### HIS CREATOR

Before he became a Christian deacon, Te Ariki Tara-are, or Te Ariki Tara-aere (The High Chief By-the-side-of-the-house), who is the author-raconteur of the only version of the Maui cycle preserved from Rarotonga (Cook Islands), presided at native ceremonies at which heads of enemies slain in battle were presented to Tangaroa.

When Tara-are and other priest-chiefs like him were Christianized and became pastors of Christian congregations, they carried over the old vocabulary and phraseology into their sermons. W. W. Gill of the London Missionary Society wrote shudderingly (123, p. 118) of how they then preached of

laying new heads, that is, converts, on the altar for Jesus. In his introduction to the Maui cycle, Tara-are shows his rejection of the old gods. He omits a routine invocation to Tangaroa, the ruling god of Rarotongan upper classes, and substitutes an exhortation to his audience to follow the ways of Jesus. These modern adaptations to new uses of ancient beliefs and prayers give us an idea of the kinds of comparable change which took place over the centuries in Rarotongan versions of the Maui cycle.

Maui's character, as revealed in the single Rarotongan version of the cycle, is heavily serious. As in the Society Islands, he has been taken over by intellectuals in the population who have reinterpreted his biography in the light of serious purposes. Though the familiar themes of raising the sky, fishing up land, stealing fire, and killing monsters are retained, they are told utterly differently than, for example, in the Maori Arawa cycle. Serious as the Society Islands version is, it has its moments of lilting phrases and amused naivete, as when Maui returns home and knocks on the door in western style before entering. Such moments are completely absent in the Rarotongan version. The author-raconteur has allowed himself no such indulgences. Maui is the solemn and conscientious avenger of an insult to Tangaroa, first among the gods honored by Tara-are's relatives. The hero's name, according to the narrator, is derived from the word for weariness (*mauianga*) in remembrance both of Tangaroa's weariness after his encounter with a shark and Maui's fatigue after raising the sky to stand up for the first time in his life. On this occasion his eight heads bumped the sky hard enough to send it far above him to its present location. The swelling of his body where rocks had bruised the flesh gave him the epithet of *tikitiki*.

It is hard to imagine Maui as either conscientious, solemn, or tired. However, Te Ariki Tara-are had a distinguished background and education for his position as high priest of the Karika-makea clan and leader of the worship of Tangaroa. The insult to Tangaroa must have been great indeed for Maui-the-joyous to be delegated with the life goal of avenging the god.

No popular versions of any Maui myths have been recorded in Rarotonga, yet they probably existed among the common people, as in the Society Archipelago. But fortunes of fate and the friendship of the priestly authors with the missionary-collector have preserved the oral literature of only one section of Rarotongan society.

Rarotongan popular versions were perhaps similar to those collected from Manihiki and Rakahanga, islands discovered and settled by Rarotongans who carried their traditions with them. Tara-are (Smith, 244) tells how Maui and Huku, both of Rarotonga, fished up these little islands lying north of the Cook group. Manihikians and Rakahangans give the same tradition (Buck, 273), but to them, as described in an earlier chapter, Maui is the

familiar, happy-go-lucky, and mischievous boy who cruelly teases his elderly grandparents, who are gods, and plays all kinds of tricks on them when he visits their underworld home.

As often happens, marginal islands and colonies keep the older, more generalized versions of ancient myths, whereas in the motherland, under the spur of advanced culture, artists and historians experiment and invent new versions. Comparably, in the United States and in British dependencies, customs of the old country from which immigrants came are occasionally preserved long after they have changed in the homeland. Old, archaic forms of certain European and Asiatic languages, for example, might, it is claimed by some linguists, be better studied among nationality groups in the United States than in the old countries where they are the dominant languages. Though local change and deterioration occur under the influence of pioneer conditions and contacts with other colonists, changes in marginal dependencies are not as revolutionary as in the homeland.

Te Ariki Tara-are, source of most published Rarotongan traditions, was, to his countrymen, the final authority on their antiquities. The last in his line to function as the high priest and sage of Rarotonga, he was also the last to offer human sacrifices to the tutelary Rarotongan deity, Tangaroa, before he abandoned Tangaroa for the Christian God.

No biography of Tara-are exists, but W. W. Gill, S. Percy Smith, Stephen Savage, and others who knew the priest-chief have written a little about him. I have woven this material with the traditional history of the island to reconstruct this great Rarotongan's biography.

When Gill and Smith knew the chief, he was already in his nineties. Most of his life, then, had been part of the pre-European era. Though Tara-are died a Christian deacon, upon him for the major part of his career had fallen the most sacred duties to be performed in honor of ancient Rarotongan gods and their earthly representatives and descendants.

Tara-are's mother had reared him from infancy in a cave hidden from all people, and there his father had taught him the ancient traditions. When the child's umbilical cord had been severed, a priest had pronounced the name of his father's god in his oration to confirm the boy's clan affiliation. Had Tara-are been a foster child like the Rarotongan Maui, the same procedure would have been used to adopt him into his foster father's clan. In his childhood, a boy like Tara-are had three or four nurses to feed him so that he would develop, like Maui, an enormous frame as evidence of his high birth and bring him praise for his beauty. To meet another criterion of good looks, the child's head was shaped between two boards to make it high.

The office of priest in old Rarotongan culture was hereditary, and a boy being trained to follow in the footsteps of his older relative had to observe

many tapus. Tara-are has told a little about his father's training of his memory to enable him to recite the ancient traditions without errors or hesitation (Gill, 124, ¶ 22):

My father taught me how to retain wisdom (korero). He also told me when to marry. He did not feed me with bananas, plantains, and fish, lest, the food being light and slippery, wisdom should slip away from me. No! He fed me with "taro," well beaten with a pestle and mixed with cooked "taro" leaves, the glutinous nature of the "taro" being favorable to the retention of wisdom.

Tara-are told Gill this without a smile, in full belief that his diet in his youth and early manhood accounted for the marvelous memory which he kept until he died. As he had been reared, so had other great Rarotongan priests.

Tara-are's paternal grandmother had a romantic history. She was called Upoko (Head) until she took the name Umu-tai (One-oven), after Vakatini, chief of another clan had saved her in the nick of time from the oven of cannibals of her own clan. These cannibals had already eaten her parents and three brothers. Through Vakatini she met Potiki-taua, a priest, whom she married (Gill, 123, pp. 87, 119).

The names, Potiki-taua and Te Ariki Tara-are, which refer to the same person, were hereditary in the same family as was the position of priest. The sage who narrated the Maui cycle traced his descent and dual names for about 25 generations from that Potiki-taua (later to take the name of Te Ariki Tara-are) who, as a priest, came with Tangiia, the great colonizer of Rarotonga, sometime during the thirteenth century, A. D.

The biographies of Tangiia and Potiki-taua (Smith, 254, pp. 183-208) are closely united. Tangiia, a Tahitian resident, quarreled with his cousin Tutapu. So intense and hostile was feeling between the cousins that Tangiia, having been defeated in a clash with Tutapu and seen his sons slain, decided that he had better leave Tahiti. He set out with his warriors, his priests, including Potiki-taua, "to guard the bows of his canoe," his servants, and his gods who were Tonga-iti, Rongo, Tane, Ruanuku, Tu, and Tangaroa.

Before Tangiia left Tahiti, his men stole Rongo-ma-Tane and Maru-mamao, two of Tutapu's gods. No profounder insult could have been inflicted on Tutapu. It doubled his already violent anger toward Tangiia. When he learned of the latest outrage, he set out in search of Tangiia whose boats, of which one had been made in the invisible world, had already departed. He carried on his search with such singlehearted desire for revenge that Polynesians, who already had many famous seekers of revenge, called him "the relentless pursuer." None as persevering as Tutapu had been known before.

Tangiia, fully realizing his dire situation, went to the land of the gods, Avaiki-te-varinga (Hawaiki-the-beginning) to ask for advice. Literal-minded

narrators of Tangiia's history declare that he did not actually go to Avaiki but had his priests communicate in spirit with the gods living there. At any rate, the pantheon gave him advice, which he took. Wise and learned Tonga-iti recommended Tumu-te-varovaro as a desirable new home for Tangiia. Rarotonga is the name of the physical island; Tumu-te-varovaro is the name of its spirit. Tonga-iti and his wife, who had discovered it when it was a floating island, had anchored it securely so that it could float no more (Smith, 254, vol. 29, p. 2).

However, before Tangiia reached Rarotonga, he had many adventures. One of them was to adopt as his heir the son of Hiro, another great adventurer. The foster son acquired the name of Chief Many-heads because he was to become the high chief over numerous districts. Consecration of the boy began at Borabora, was interrupted by Tutapu's arrival, and finished at a place called Nuku, where Tangiia had himself consecrated as a high chief and elected many lesser chiefs and eight priests including Potiki-taua. (See Savage, 232.)

The most important adventure for the career of Tangiia's faithful priest, Potiki-taua, was the meeting with Karika-makea of Samoa. Karika married Tangiia's daughter, according to Williams (308, p. 196). Another version says that Tangiia married Karika's daughter, Te Mokoroa-ki-aitu. He concluded a military pact with his father-in-law after being defeated in his first encounter with Karika (Williams, 308, p. 195). Tangiia relinquished tokens of his religious and civil supremacy to Karika. Some of his crew, who resisted this decision with fierce determination, even seized the token of supremacy from Tangiia and threw it into the sea so that Karika could not have it (Smith, 254, vol. 29, p. 48).

Tangiia's mind was fixed, however. He not only surrendered his supremacy but gave Karika, as compensation for the crew's insult, a scarlet head-dress and his priest, Potiki-taua, because Karika had fewer priests than he. The precise circumstances of this agreement have not been recorded. Was Potiki-taua among those who objected to Tangiia's surrender of privileges to Karika? Or did Tangiia feel that he could safeguard his interests by putting Potiki-taua as a spy in Karika's canoe? At any rate, Potiki-taua gained prestige by becoming Karika's priest, since Karika was now superior to Tangiia.

When Karika and Tangiia eventually settled on Rarotonga, two important clans developed. One traces its descent from Karika, the other from Tangiia. The superiority of Karika's clan continues to be asserted, for the position of high chief of Rarotonga is hereditary in his clan.

It happened that Tangiia and his crew arrived in Rarotonga before Karika. Soon Tutapu, who had picked up his cousin's trail, appeared on the shore. He fought a battle in which he was defeated and killed. As was the custom,

Tangiia ate Tutapu's eyeballs, a superior source of magical power. Unfortunately, he neglected to offer them first to his gods, Rongo and Tangaroa, to let them consume the spirit in the eyeballs. Apparently Tangiia, without Potiki-taua to guide him in his religious duties, was not very sure of himself and had incapable priestly advisors. Strangely enough, though, Tangiia is described as being so learned and versed in religious protocol learned in Avaiki-te-varinga that he later taught in the Rarotongan Academy of Learning which he founded (Smith, 254, vol. 28, p. 59).

Having killed Tutapu, Tangiia immediately got himself into another fix through his religious oversight. The gods reproved him—perhaps through his priests when they realized what he had done—but he went ahead, despite his breach of religious etiquette, to prepare the first cannibal oven known to Rarotonga. The corpse of the "relentless pursuer" was to be cooked, but it was so sacred that the flesh did not change despite the heat of the fire. Thereupon, Potiki-taua, who had arrived with Karika at last, went with other priests to fetch Kaukura who was of high enough rank to recite the prayers removing the mana and tapu of Tutapu and thus tenderize the flesh for the victory celebration. Williams' account (308) has Karika help defeat Tutapu.

Nothing more is said about Potiki-taua until after Tangiia's death, when he renamed himself Te Ariki Tara-are (The High Chief By-the-side-of-the-house). He is also known as Tereupe but nothing is said about the origin or significance of this name. He took the new name of Tara-are in remembrance of an incident which happened to Tangiia after he had died and become a spirit. Tangiia the Great, who was destined to become a god, had to go through many ceremonies as a spirit before the pantheon accepted him as a colleague. In one ceremony, for example, he and the gods took turns swallowing each other's spirits as tidbits or *hors d'œuvres* at a kava-drinking ritual. Tongaiti and Tangaroa, who had begun the ceremony of spirit-swallowing, then escorted Tangiia into the presence of Rongo-ma-Tane and other gods who were to complete the transformation of Tangiia into a member of the pantheon.

Rongo-ma-Tane, who, it will be recalled, was Tutapu's god before Tangiia's crew stole him, was hostile toward Tangiia, perhaps because of what happened in Tahiti. At any rate, Rongo-ma-Tane kept Tangiia cooling his heels anxiously outside the house of the gods until he got around to inviting him in to join the fellowship of the divinities. Potiki-taua as high priest knew, of course, what was happening. His new name of The High Chief By-the-side-of-the-house commemorates Tangiia's embarrassing experience. Finally, Tangiia was deified and accepted by the rest of the pantheon. As a god, his worship spread from Rarotonga to Mangaia, which like Manihiki and Rakahanga, traces its ancestry to people of Rarotongan origin.

The line of priests descended from Potiki-taua (or Te Ariki Tara-are as he was now called) continued, until European times, to perform the highest services for Rarotongan ruling chiefs at the religious center Arai-te-tonga, located in Avarua district. The last of the great priests who traced their line to Potiki-taua was he whose version of the Maui cycle has been preserved for us.

He, his father, grandfather, and other first-born sons of previous Potiki-tauas had the duty of anointing and consecrating the ruling chief-elect of the Karika-makea clan, who was to be the ruling high chief of all Rarotonga. Consecration rites included the sacrifice of a human being, euphemistically referred to as the first fish, a phrase commemorating the less bloody sacrifices of the most ancient Polynesians. From Arai-te-tonga the high chief-elect was carried to a religious center of the Tangiia clan where Potiki-taua gave him his future name. Thus was symbolized the superior position of the Makea clan, its bond with the Tangiia clan, and the importance of the religious leader Potiki-taua (Smith, 247, p. 220).

At Arai-te-tonga, a seat appropriately named "To Open" or "To Disclose" was reserved near that of the ruling chief for Potiki-taua, who acted as the chief's mouthpiece, a kind of prime minister or talking chief, and announced his decisions. The priest lived in a home called Are-rangi (Heavenly-house) which adjoined the religious center. Both the home and the temple were located on the Great-highway-of-Toi (Te Ara-nui-o-Toi), named in honor of its traditional builder. Sometimes the road is called The Road-of-the-ancestors (Te Ara-metua). The ancient paved road is inland from a modern road and, like it, circles the island. At Avarua district, still important today as the main settlement of Rarotonga, are located the British government buildings (Smith, 247).

Arai-te-tonga, situated on the old road, is often mentioned in traditions and chants, some, however, so obscure that neither present-day Polynesians nor Europeans have been able to translate them. Karika himself built Arai-te-tonga with his relative Tu-rarotonga as the supervisor. Arai-te-tonga was a court of royalty (*koutu-ariki*) where all the lesser tribal chiefs and priests met with the higher chiefs and priests to discuss tribal matters with the ruling chief and his staff. Although other courts existed in the island, Arai-te-tonga was a kind of national capital, where the leading families had stone seats assigned to them.

Besides assembling there for political meetings, Rarotongans gathered at Arai-te-tonga to celebrate annual festivals of the first fruits (Smith, 254, pp. 131-137). The greatest religious ceremony ever held there was that to deify Tangiia. Evidently Karika got the court finished before Tangiia's death.

Within the boundaries of a court of royalty like Arai-te-tonga, there were perhaps three or four maraes. A public announcer in calling out the title

of a chief in assemblies and ceremonies would first announce the chief's name, then his royal court, and finally his marae within the court. The chief and members of his family, if challenged as to their rank and their right to sit in a certain court, would declare themselves to be "the white pebbles" of their royal court. The phrase refers perhaps to the custom of sprinkling white pebbles to surface the marae. Te Ariki Tara-are was a "white pebble" of Arai-te-tonga (Smith 247).

According to Stephen Savage, an authority on Rarotonga, Arai-te-tonga was indeed the principal court of royalty in Avarua but it was not as great as the court which Tangiia built at Takitumu. Perhaps Savage's informant was a member of the Tangiia clan who would not acknowledge claims of the Karika-makea clan to primacy despite Tangiia's famous surrender to his father-in-law when he had "the relentless pursuer" at his heels. Politically, the island was divided into tribes claiming descent from the ancestor whose name they bore as a clan title. People were ruled by the great and lesser chiefs who collected rent in the form of produce to maintain royal establishments and tribal wars.

The ruins of Arai-te-tonga are still to be seen in Rarotonga. Besides the ruins of the stone seats, the altar, and other sections of the famous court, one can also see the paved terrace of Te Ariki Tara-are's Heavenly House. Originally other houses were near the court, one of them being known as the House of Refuge, a sanctuary. Karika is said (Smith, 254, p. 15) to have built himself a coral fort as a dwelling place and named it Are-Au (Hibiscus-House). However, the word *au* has a dual meaning in Rarotonga, signifying both hibiscus and altar.

In 1897, when Te Ariki Tara-are was about 90 years old, he showed Smith the remains of the establishments up from the curb of the Great Highway of Toi, where for 25 generations his family had played an impressive role in Rarotongan history. Smith made sketches and gathered information about the ruins for the Polynesian Society (247). In later years, Buck, while studying the material culture of the Cook Islands (276), added further information about the ancient court and house.

Such is the history of the family of the only Rarotongan biographer of Maui whom we know. One begins to understand how a family with such a background could reinterpret Maui's personality to make him a "weary avenger." However weary he may have become from thrusting up the sky, it did not deter him from avenging the insult to Tangaroa, the principal god of the Karika-makea clan. He was as relentless a pursuer as Tutapu, but more successful. When he had gone through the paces set for him by Tangaroa's earthly mouthpiece, he went, like Tangiia, to seek the brotherhood of gods and join in their frequent parties.

## THE RAROTONGAN MAUI CYCLE

The Maui cycle of Rarotonga is a small part of the corpus of traditional history which accidents of fate like the invention of the printing press and Gill's interest in Te Ariki Tara-are's learning have preserved for us. Even this corpus presents but one man's recollection, a ripple at the end of the ever changing stream of Rarotongan oral literature. Te Ariki Tara-are dictated to Gill the version of the Maui cycle discussed here (Smith, 244). Tauraki, a young Rarotongan missionary, who later died in New Guinea, where he had gone to preach the Christian gospel, made a copy of it. Smith translated it and enlisted the aid of the Reverend J. J. K. Hutchin of Rarotonga, in correcting it.

Thus, because a fish makes the great god, Tangaroa, the laughing stock of all the other gods of the pantheon, the careers of Maui and Tangaroa are to become intimately bound. The other gods roar with laughter when the most important deity of the Rarotongan ruling class is tripped by the tail of the mythical monster, the shark Mokoroa, and sent sprawling face down under the demon's slimy body and lashed repeatedly. Even wise old Tongaiti abets the shark.

While the watching gods shake with hearty laughter, Tangaroa, earlier warned that evil was in store for him, suffers such shame and damaged prestige among his colleagues that, as he lies there on his face in the slime, he literally sinks through the surface of the land. Once out of sight he dives through the many tiers of the world to escape the sound of the echoing mirth of his brother gods.

The full horror of the insult can be appreciated from the fact that of all the gods of Rarotonga, "over all, there is one great Deity, the Creator of all things, and the preserver of all things, called 'Tangaroa'" (Gill, 120, vol. 2, p. 14), an evaluation recalling the high position which the same god achieves in the Society Islands with the assistance of the Arioi Society. Not only are human sacrifices sacred to Tangaroa in Rarotonga, but all tree fruits, such as breadfruit and chestnuts, which he solicitously removes to other lands for the winter.

According to John Williams, the missionary who later lost his life in the New Hebrides, Rarotongans prayed to Tangaroa to send to their island the fabulous outriggerless ships of the fabulous Cookees (Captain Cook's crew) together with the axes, iron, and nails of which neighboring islanders had told them (Williams, 308, p. 201). Tangaroa, they believed, could enable them to see the ships and the men who had come from far away.

An old prayer to Tangaroa suggests his importance. Smith obtained a copy in Rarotonga in 1897, and less full variants have appeared in other publications. This recitation (*karakia*) bears the native literary term of *kauraura*.

Tara-are omits most of the routine invocation to Tangaroa which begins many traditions and chants, and substitutes instead a Christian sermon. He starts with the third verse of the Tangaroa invocation, which is pseudo-historical and gives the islands from which the people came. The first part of the chant follows:

Speak, thou ancient Tangaroa,  
To thy worshiper.  
Praise Tangaroa!  
Praise him!

Then the people reply:

Praise him!  
Praise him!  
Ha! Ha! (They dance.)  
Let the gods speak.  
Let the gods rule.  
We offer worship, O our gods!

Then the priest recites names of the islands from which the people came. He begins, "Atia-te-varinga-nui is the original land from which we sprang. Avaiki-te-varinga is the original land from which we sprang." Next he names in turn the lands of Iti-nui, Papua, Enea-kura, Avaiki, Kuporu, and Manuka.

It is small wonder that this solemnly invoked Tangaroa, who is tripped and falls on his face before the rest of the pantheon, drifts about the world for a long time as an exile. On one of his stopovers, he marries Ina (dialectical equivalent of Hina, Sina, and so forth), whom he loves so much that he gives her people a mysterious new food, "a white thing in the sand," the unknown *ui-ara-kakano*, which displaces *vari*, another unidentified food, which Tangaroa considers revolting. (Some interpreters of the myth believe that these events occurred in Indonesia before the dispersal of the Polynesians and that *vari* may be rice.) A second new food, the first breadfruit tree, originates about this time from the corpse of Ina's father, Vai-takere. When his grief-stricken wife goes to a high mountain ridge to die, the Tahitian chestnut (*i'i*) bursts into bloom.

The restless Tangaroa, haunted by his disgrace, decides to continue his wanderings. Ina recommends that he get the crabs (a Polynesian euphemism for slaves) to transport him. Tangaroa, thereupon, gets various crabs to bear him to earth, where, at a spring, he meets and seduces a woman named Uenga (equivalent of Tuamotuan Huahenga), wife of Ataranga.

That same night, Uenga bears a son, whom Tangaroa steals to become his foster child and avenger. He gives the kidnaped baby, of whose birth Ataranga knows nothing, into the care of supernatural nurses, who rear him in a cave until he has magically grown into an enormously fat giant with eight heads.

Telling the gods, Tonga-iti, Tu, Tane, and Ruanuku, of his foster son and his reason for stealing him, Tangaroa invites them to attend baptism ceremonies for the child. When they bring him gifts and new names, they marvel at his wisdom in recognizing them and reciting their names. Tonga-iti, it appears, has been his teacher. It will be recalled that his Society Islands nurses also wonder at his wisdom.

The name of the child, who has supernatural height and strength, is Maui-itiki-itiki-a-Taranga. When the gods command him to stand up for the first time, his eight heads force up the sky to its present distance from the earth. Until now it has hung smotheringly low upon the spreading tops of tree ferns, taro, arrowroot, and banyans where previous heaven-proppers, crippled through their efforts, have left it.

After bringing many winds to beautify the heavens, Maui sets out on the mission to which his life has been dedicated, the hunt for Mokoroa. During his search, he fishes up Manihiki, Rakahanga, and other islands, and brings the secret of making fire and the art of tattooing to mankind. Eventually he traps and kills Mokoroa and throws parts of its body into the sky where they grace the evening display of stars and the Milky Way.

When other undescribed insults to Tangaroa have been avenged, the weary Maui returns to Rarotonga in search of the land of the gods. He wants to join them in the festivals and entertainments which were his foster father's delight before the shame of Mokoroa's insult drove him from the company of his brother gods. Here the story ends. The implication is that Maui finds his foster uncles at last and joins them in the good times which his serious mission in life has thus far denied him.

The narrative consists of two combined cycles, one about Tangaroa and one about Maui. The first half of this double cycle describes Tangaroa's defeat by Mokoroa and his consequent self-exile. The second half is the story of Maui.

Some unknown Rarotongan author-raconteur has united the originally independent biographical odysseys of Maui and Tangaroa by means of the connecting link of the god's desire for a son who will kill the shark. The author-raconteur makes Maui the child whom the god stole, and uses the search for Mokoroa as the leitmotif of the Maui cycle. The hero performs his exploits of raising the sky, fishing up land, and getting fire and other benefits for humanity incidental to his quest for the shark. The leitmotif unifies Maui's disparate adventures, for the narrator keeps in mind the hero's major duty as Tangaroa's avenger.

The narrator does not handle the first half of the double cycle as confidently as the second. Though he first names Maui's sky-raising ancestors (a beginning reminiscent of the Society version which also closely unites the raising

of the sky with the Maui cycle) and states that he is going to tell the story of Maui, the lengthy and rambling account of Tangaroa's career, in which Maui is not mentioned until the kidnaping, makes one wonder how this can be the story of Maui if Maui never appears in it. When at last Tangaroa meets Uenga and steals Maui to kill Mokoroa, one sees the necessity for the narrator having first told about Tangaroa and the insulting shark.

But in proportion to its importance as proved by its determination of the course of later events, the story of the insult is not elaborated as much as Tangaroa's experience with Ina and her relatives. A single paragraph describes the conflict of the god and the shark, whereas six paragraphs concern his exile among people who ate peculiar foods. And in the second half of the cycle, Maui's conquest of Mokoroa is not given the importance it should have as the climax of his career.

Maui's genealogy and the narrator's introductory declaration that it is to be the story of Maui suggest that an author-raconteur, once the cycles of Tangaroa and Maui had been joined, felt that the direct narration of events in their chronological order was too rambling and that the listener should at once hear how certain events in Tangaroa's career, before Maui's birth, conditioned the demi-god's life and hence must be told.

Putting the genealogy of Maui into the introduction follows Polynesian narrative custom. To a Polynesian it signifies that Maui is to be the hero of the story, regardless of how long it takes the narrator to get around to him. Buck's experience while studying the material culture of the Cook Islands, to which Rarotonga belongs, comes to mind. When he asked his informant for a description of objects made of coconut, the informant began to recite a genealogy, apparently ignoring the question of coconut artifacts. However, as the recital progressed, it became evident that the genealogy was that of various kinds of coconuts. Their descendants, objects made of coconuts, were then described. The informant went through the same procedure before he described objects made of stone. And in this Rarotongan cycle, the narrator first recites Maui's genealogy, then the career of Tangaroa, and then the effect of that career on Maui himself.

Besides revising the structure, Rarotongan author-raconteurs have elaborated the setting of this Maui cycle by innumerable references to people, places, events, and customs which give the cycle the air of being a profusely documented history. Myth and tradition are so kneaded together that only the supernatural wisdom of the heroic Tawhaki of New Zealand who knew all things without being taught could accurately isolate historical facts from mythological fancies.

The many obscurities and the matter-of-fact style of direct narration, varied by chants, contribute a patina of age which may be superficial in many

places. The specialized form of the Rarotongan cycle is a later invention than the simpler narratives in other islands based on the same adventures of Maui.

The cycle is one more example of how malleable Maui and his adventures are in the hands of Polynesian litterateurs, and yet how tenaciously certain deeds and names cling to the vast myth-complex associated with the name of Maui.

In Te Ariki Tara-are's version of the Rarotongan Maui cycle (Smith 244, pp. 62-64) is a native prayer about the origin of islands, a Christian harangue, and a brief genealogy of Maui and earlier heaven-proppers. The narrator traces Maui's descent from Papa, the Earth Woman, through Muu-maio and Te Pupu, to his foster father Tangaroa. Te Pore-o-ariki, who set the sky on the tops of a giant tree fern, was descended from Papa through Putarau. Te Pupu and Te Nga-taito-ariki were the ancestors of Ru-the-heaven-propper (Ru-toko-rangi), who lifted the sky to the tops of giant taro, arrowroot, and banyan trees, from which Maui raised it much higher.

The following paragraphs are from Smith's translation (244, pp. 64-75):

[After Ru grew Maui-itiki-itiki-a-Taranga.] This is the story of Maui: Tangaroa dwelt in the land of Rangi-ura, a land that was frequented by Te Mokoroa-i-ata and Tangaroa—was that land of Rangi-ura. Tangaroa did not dwell permanently in that land, but his daughter Taakura did. He would dwell in Rangi-ura, then go to Vaiono and stay there, from thence to Avaiki, to the place of Rua-te-atonga, and join in with Tupuanui and others, and with Te Kura-akaipo and others to amuse themselves. Tangaroa wandered about these lands and then would go above to the heavens; and from the heavens come back to Rangi-ura and from Rangi-ura he would go in search of his daughters, Poue-e-toro-ki-uta and Poue-e-toro-ki-tai. Once he met Uero who came from Vaiau-te-ngangana. Uero asked Tangaroa, "Where art thou going?" He replied, "I am going to search for my pets, Poue-e-toro-ki-uta and Poue-e-toro-ki-tai." Uero said to him, "I saw some things there; the stars were flashing at Vaiau-te-ngangana, evil will be the result, the face of the crab will rise presently!"

Tangaroa went on his way until he got to a certain place where he was overtaken by Te Mokoroa-i-ata. Mokoroa-i-ata seized him. He caught this fish, lifted it up to kill it. Tonga-iti called out to Mokoroa-i-ata, "Thy tail! Thy tail! Catch hold of him by the tail of the fish!" The legs of Tangaroa were lashed by the tail of the fish, and down went Tangaroa, and the fish escaped. As he fell under the fish, the many gods shook with laughter, and Tangaroa was consumed with shame. He laid with his face downwards, and burst through the surface of the earth and dived down below from surface to surface.

In the part about Tangaroa's marriage to Ina, daughter of Vaitakere, the origin of new foods is discussed. Tangaroa decided to leave. Ina recommended the hosts of the *rata* (? spotted crabs) and the hosts of the *tupa* (? land crabs) as a means of transportation. The legs of the *rata* straddled too much, so the crabs from the mud carried Tangaroa to the crabs of Raro-nuku who delivered him to the crabs of Rangi-make who carried him to the earth and threw him down and abandoned him. He rubbed a piece of *poro* (a plant) in

his hand and whistled to the frightened crabs to return. They told him to root up the earth, rocks, and trees until he reached the abode of man. Tangaroa did so. "Then were born all things that creep on the surface of the land, in great numbers."

[Birth of Maui.] Tangaroa now ascended a mountain where he saw Ataranga's wife, Vaine-Uenga (the woman Uenga), who was coming to the water to bathe at noon-day. He went up to the woman and took hold of her, and when he had succeeded they went to the head of the stream, and there they slept. He now composed a song:

Uenga was encountered.  
Why take heed of Taranga?  
Pleasant is the water,  
A drinking spring for chiefs,  
A very delightful stream.  
She was encountered up above.  
Above on the upper bank  
She was found.  
Below on the lower bank  
They came together.  
They slept, the woman and the man,  
At the royal bathing place.  
O pleasant is the water!  
A drinking spring of chiefs,  
A very charming stream,  
A drinking spring of chiefs,  
A bathing stream indeed.

When the song was ended, he asked the woman, "Where is Ataranga?" The woman replied, "He has gone to the seashore." Tangaroa then said to the woman, "Ataranga will have two fish, one a *taraao*, the other an *auru*. When he arrives you must ask, 'How many fish have you?' He will reply to you, 'I have two fish, one for Tongaiti, one for Tangaroa; my fish are both tapu.' But you must say, 'Give them to me, and a fresh banana as a relish'" When these words were finished, the woman Uenga went to her and her husband's house. Tangaroa went up to the heavens.

After a time Ataranga ascended from the seashore. The woman asked him, "What are your fish?" [A conversation nearly identical with that prophesied by Tangaroa takes place.] The husband said to her, "Would you dare eat those fish and that banana?" [They were tapu to women] The woman insisted; the husband consented, and cut up the fish and gave her to eat, and then cut a banana, roasted it, and gave her to eat, and she ate them. By the time she had consumed them it was evening, and then the woman was seized with pains in the stomach that evening, nor did she blow up the fire because of the trouble that evening.

[From the sky Tangaroa saw there was no fire in Uenga's house. He sent his messengers, Ro-io and Ro-ake, to investigate.] It was not long before they arrived below, and they called to Ataranga, "O Ataranga! O!" He answers, "Here am I!" They said to him, "Why is there no fire in the house of you two?" He replied to them, "My wife is sick through eating the sacred fish of Tongaiti and Tangaroa, and the bananas which she has also eaten; that is why she is ill." (The messengers returned to Tangaroa and reported the conversation Tangaroa went down.) "O Ataranga! O! Where is your wife?" He replied, "Here, she is ill" Then Tangaroa entered the house and took the woman on his thigh and delivered the child. And when the child was born he concealed it and did not show it to Ataranga. After the delivery, he gave the woman to her husband, saying, "There is thy wife. It was only a natural affection. She will not be ill."

[Tangaroa took the child to Te Iiri and Te Rarama who put it in a cave so that

it might drink of the water that flowed out of a rock. They had no milk. Tangaroa went up above to tell Rongo and Tane that he had stolen Ataranga's child to avenge his overthrow by Te Mokoroa-i-ata.] "Now my word to you two is, we will go and give it a name, and carry a present to my child." This is the song:

O great Rongo! O Tane O!  
 Arrange a feast for my child.  
 Endow it with wisdom, with supremacy.  
 Bring forth the child with a feast.  
 O Tu-marō-kumi! Tu-marō-anga!  
 O the chiefs of the heavens,  
 Bring hither then a feast for my child.  
 Endow it then with wisdom and supremacy.  
 With a feast, bring forth the child.  
 Endow it with wisdom and power,  
 With a feast here.

The second verse again invokes Rongo and Tane and the monsters of the lower world and again for poetic balance a monster from the upper world, the mythical fish, "the great *keu* that creeps at Orovaru," one of the heavens. Once more requesting a feast, wisdom, and mana for the child, the chanter abruptly ends with "Bring the present!"

When that was ended, they arranged a name for the child. Tangaroa selected his name, Maui, because of the *mauianga* or weariness of himself and Te Mokoroa-i-ata. Rongo, Tane, Ruanuku and Tu decided on Totoro-ngaro-oa as their name for the child.

The child arrived at maturity in the cave, and then they went incognito to the child that they might learn his wisdom. This is the meaning of that *totoro-ngaro* (incognito), it was (from) the secret love-making of Tangaroa and Te Vaine-uenga below at the stream. This is how the *totoro-ngaro* was acted (by the gods)

A concealed visit.  
 An unknown advance  
 Make a guess! Foretell!  
 Enough! Stand together!  
 They have listened to Araroa and Araau  
 From the heavens of Arapoti's charm  
 At the cooking of food,  
 O Rongo! Thou shalt point out.  
 O Maui O! Who are we?

Then Maui disclosed all their names and he pointed them out quite correctly. "Thou art Rongo. Thou art Tane And thou, Ruanuku. And thou, Tu. And thou art Tangaroa." And then the gods looked one at the other, saying, "Whence is the knowledge of this child of us and of our names?" He who had taught that child was Tongaiti.

[Sky-raising] They then spoke to the child, "O Maui O! Stand thee up! Maui O! Stand thee up!" So Maui stood up, scattering the rocks as he rose up because the fat on him had entered the crevices of the rocks. He lifted up the rocks. The Atua-apai tried to stop him, so that he should not arise. Then came Ngaua to stop him but did not succeed. Next came Ngati-ataranga to stop him but they did not succeed. When he stood up his head reached the very heavens carrying them with him to a great height. Then he shook off the rocks and the stones whilst the people spread out to stop him so that he should not stand up, but he scattered them far and wide. One part shouted, "O Maui! Thy shoulders are cut about." When the stones on him had been shaken off and he stood upright, behold! It was clearly seen he had eight heads, even from the

stones, like the yam within the rock, flattened this way and that, swollen here, swollen there. It was not the head alone that was flattened, but all the body was very much swollen and bulged out in lumps and fat. Hence it is said, "Maui-itiki-itiki-a-Taranga," in consequence of that great swelling (*ikitiki*).

After Maui had accomplished this feat, the heavens were high above. He looked at them and it was good. He then fetched the family of winds of Raka-maomao, the *tiu* (west southwest), the *parapu* (west winds) . . . [More than a dozen winds and their lords are named and a chant about them which was composed for Te Tiura-a-te-akurama, Tu-rarotonga's son.]

One portion of Maui's work was done, so he went on to do the rest, that is, to search for the Mokoroa-i-ata. He came away from Avaiki and reached Rangi-ura, then to this place and that place, to this land and that land—to all over the whole world.

Are-ariki and his son Toa settled at Tongareva. He came to Rarotonga from there with his wife (Takareu) and son. The place Takareu at Takamoa in Rarotonga was named for the wife. Toa had left a fishhook at Tongareva, so Are-ariki sent him to fetch it. He angled for fish as he went along until his hook tangled in something which he hauled up. It was a branched thing. He left it there, buoyed, and told Are-ariki. Are-ariki sent him back to pull it up, for it was land. When Toa got back there, Maui had already pulled it up. They wrestled, and the treading of Maui's feet broke the land into three pieces, Manihiki, Rakahanga, and Tukao. Toa's song about the land follows:

The result of my fishing was Mani-iki, O!  
 To me came my friend in strife.  
 A pleasant whole was Mani-iki.  
 'Twas mine, my own fishing.  
 Inland of the bounding beach,  
 I then reclined and slept,  
 Beyond at Mani-iki.  
 To me O! Came my friend in strife.  
 One pleasant whole was Mani-iki.  
 Ah! It was a chieflike place indeed.

Then they rubbed noses after their fight and Maui went his way. Toa returned to Rarotonga and told his father, "The land has come up through Maui and is broken up by his stamping on it with his feet."

Maui now went in search of the Mokoroa-i-ata and discovered another land at Tonga, beneath the sea. Tonga-ake was its name. Maui fished it up. When that land was fixed he left it and went to Rangiraro. There he found two fish which he brought back to Rangi-ura. They had grown from the tail that had lashed Tangaroa. He put them in the heavens for Rongo and Tane. Hence are the fish seen above in the heavens every night. These fish point to the "wind holes." When they are seen there the wind will come from that direction. If the heads of the fish point to the rising of the sun, the wind will be northeast. It is the same with the *tike* (Tike-o-te-unga, a constellation like Mokoroa-i-ata, the Milky Way?). If the crab does turn to the northwest, the wind will come from the northeast. It is the same way with every wind.

[Origin of fire] When these fish had been killed, the parent had been avenged for the time he was lashed by those fish. Then Maui went to all the islands to avenge his parent Tangaroa. When he had avenged all insults and not one remained, he went to Avaiki-runga. Arrived there, he went to the place of the woman Mauke, lord of fire. Hence the proverb, "The fire of Mauke." He begged for some fire, and she gave him a fire stick. But he would not have that, but asked for the friction stick with which to make fire. She gave it to him. He learned how to get fire with it. Then he looked at the side of the oven where the candlenuts were lying in a heap. He took some and bore them along the road of the ants. They swarmed upon him, but he showed them the candlenuts, and threw some at them. The ants left him.

The chieftainesses (*tapaeru*) at Avaiki-runga were Mauike, Putokura, and Taringa-varu-kao-uouo, all high born. They held the mana of all Avaiki. It was one continuous land formerly, but when Maui lifted up the heavens and the rocks, his weight and the stamping of his feet severed the land. His right foot was on Iti-nui and his left foot on Iti-rai. Both of these lands were severed, and when he stood on Avaiki-runga, it was fractured. Now he was in Avaiki to get fire and the tattooing comb.

He named that land Mauiui because of his *mauianga* (weariness) in lifting up the heavens. Hence he went by way of the ant. He gave it another name, Vaii (?Hawaii) because of the *vaiianga* (?) of the ant to him. Another name he gave was Ngangai (?Lanai) which is the tattooing with the comb, and yet another, Te Aro-mar-o-Pipi and Kai (?Kauai). There are other feats of his there; they are not now known.

He then came back from there with the fire and the tattooing comb, and went on to the end (?sunrise) to the place of Uperu and stayed there. He got fire by friction to cook food for Uperu's daughter and commenced the tattooing. He left there, and came on, and put seeds of fire into all the trees. Hence does man obtain it through perspiring. And hence it is called "the fire of Mauike" and "the fire of Pere" (Pele). Pere was Mauike's daughter. Nowadays it is called "the fire of Maui" derived from that of Mauike. Ravea was Uperu's child; hence it is said "the end of Ravea" (?the end was with Ravea).

Maui came by way of the very rising of the sun (the east) to Iva-nui, to Iva-rai, to Iva-te-pukenga, to Iva-te-kirikiri, to Te Rauao (Marquesan islands?), by Tuamotus, by Tahiti, by Raiatea, to Huahine, to Porapora, to Tahaa, to Moorea, to Atiu where is his knee, to Auau (Mangaia) and then he arrived at Rarotonga, to search for the way to Avaiki. This is the meaning of that name. It is a road of the gods where the gods collect. Their house is at the base of that mountain. The door of that house, which is always open is Kati-enua. Because of Rangaroa's straining when he went that way, it is called Rae-marua. It is the shade on the forehead of the many gods. The top of that mountain is Nga-vari-vari-te-tava. It was that mountain Maui sought. He thought it still existed, but it was quite cut off by Aumake; nothing but the base remains. The place where Maui stood was on the stone. It was there where he looked at the mountain. He trod on the stone, hence it is said of it, "The footsteps of Maui." It is at Te Tapirianga-a-te-Aia. Beyond there is also "the tongue of Pa." It is there where Maui's footsteps are. But the name of that place is not now known. Perhaps it is Te Au, perhaps Te Puta-anu. He did not attempt anything with that mountain because it had been finished by Aumake.

So Maui returned. He went from Rarotonga by way of the sunset on his return. He came by way of the sunrise to Rarotonga and went to the leeward on his return. He went to conceal his body at Te Navao. This is all the portion of the story of Maui that is known.

#### OTHER RAROTONGAN LORE INVOLVING MAUI

Published Rarotonga lore about Maui, other than the cycle given above, consists of a list of the members of the Maui family according to which Ataranga and his wife, Te Mutu-a-Uenga, have five Maui children—Mua, Roto, Taa, Teina, and Tikitiki-a-Taranga (Savage, 231, pp. 143-144)—and, from More-taunga-o-te-tini, priest initiate with an ancestry as distinguished as that of Potiki-taua, a myth about Maui forcing a woman Ro (Roe and Rohe are dialectical equivalents) to exchange heads with him (Gill, 125,

pp. 152-155). According to Savage, Gill (125, p. 153) had an unpublished variant of the Ro myth which is even more obscure than More-taunga's version.

To clarify obscurities in the Rarotongan Maui cycle and to appreciate how it has been reinterpreted as part of a complex traditional history, one must study other Rarotongan traditions. Consistency and coordination of various versions cannot be expected; they are not characteristic even of accounts given by the same Rarotongan authority.

Tara-are's other recorded traditions refer to many of the names and places mentioned in the Maui cycle. Some also appear in other Polynesian oral literature. The information assembled below throws no more than a feeble pinpoint of light on the many obscurities in the Rarotongan Maui cycle. Myth added to myth and multiplied by guesses produces no gain of security or confidence in charting the mazes of Rarotongan ideology and spirit worlds. However, they may inspire better navigators to lay a truer course.

Te Ariki Tara-are's traditions, unlike those from the Society Islands, emphasize the daily activities of the divine beings, their wars, weapons, pleasures, children, and their domestic, political, and religious scandals. The jealousies, bargainings, jockeyings for prestige, and squabbings recall scenes from lives of the gods described in the *Iliad*.

Narrators trace the beginnings of Rarotongan history to the land Avaiki-te-varinga-nui (Avaiki-the-great-beginning) where Te Tumu (The Source) and his wife Papa (The Earth) lived. Te Tumu is modestly identified as a high chief in this land. The three oldest children of the couple are named personifications of the physical processes of childbirth and also appear in Maori mythology (Smith, 254, pp. 57-59). After them are born the sons who are gods: Rongo, Tane, Ruanuku, Tu, Tangaroa, Tonga-iti, and others. Then are born the sons who are progenitors of the lines of earthly chiefs. Among these children are Te Nga-taito-ariki, ancestor of Tangiia and Ru-the-sky-propper; Atea; Te Tupua-nui-o-Avaiki; Te Pupu, ancestor of Maui and Ru; Kaukura; and Rua-te-atonga. The lists of sons often vary.

Tonga-iti, later to be Maui's teacher, was also known as Te Veka-o-te-po or Tumu-ngao. Te Veka, often personified as a bird, particularly the rail, is the name of Maui's teacher, nurse, or mother in New Zealand, Samoa, and Rotuma. Tonga-iti was the father of the first six priests, from one of whom the priest-initiate, More-taunga-o-te-tini, traced his descent. These priests "opened up" Papa, that is, learned her secrets. They tapped on Papa, put their ears on her breast, and listened to the murmurings within her (Smith, 254, pp. 57-59). Rakahangans exhibit a place on their island where Maui put his ear to the ground to listen to the murmuring of the spirits within the earth (Gill, 122). A related myth by Gill (121, p. 27) is that Atea split open Papa and permitted the gods Tu, Tangaroa, Rongo, Tane, and Tonga-iti

joyfully to emerge out of darkness to the light of day. Atia was the enclosure or land from which these primary gods emerged. The myth seems to be a metaphorical account of the birth of these gods with Atea acting as obstetrician for Papa. Aitutakians, it will be recalled, also narrate that Maui emerged from the darkness of the earth's interior to the light after he had stripped off seven of his eight heads. Traditions often identify Avaiki-te-varinga with Atia, which in the myth described above, seems to refer to Papa's personified womb. A modern interpretation is that Atia, the ancient Rarotongan home of the gods, is none other than Asia.

In Avaiki-te-varinga-nui, the gods, goddesses, high chiefs, priests, and their retinues gathered for sumptuous annual celebrations for the first fruits of the year. These religious and secular celebrations (*takarua*) in Avaiki were the pattern for those held at Arai-te-tonga in Avarua. Descriptions in the myths of pastimes and equipment used in the divine festivals are now a source of information on vanished Rarotongan customs and artifacts.

Tangaroa, according to the Maui cycle, used to visit Rua-te-atonga's place in Avaiki when he attended the festivals. Mangaian named their god Rangi's-adz in honor of Rua-te-atonga, a royal son of the primal parents (Buck, 274, p. 134). According to the Maui cycle, Tangaroa had fun at the celebrations with the goddesses, Tupua-nui and Te Kura-akaipo, the latter Rua-te-atonga's daughter. Tangaroa's own daughter, Taakura, came to these celebrations from her home in Rangi-ura, an unknown land which her father and the insulting shark liked to visit.

Taakura is reminiscent of Athene. When a chief needed wood for an outrigger, he chopped down a sacred tree named Te Tamoko-o-te-rangi which belonged to Taakura and Tonga-iti's wife Ari. The two enraged goddesses started a war, and forced the chief to give back eight portions of the wood, which they thriftily made into artifacts, the personal names of which have been preserved. One object, a drum called Taka-enu, was used at Avarua (Smith, 254, p. 138).

On another occasion, when Taakura and Tangaroa were in the heavens, they looked down and saw a battle between Tangiia and Tutapu (Smith, 254, p. 188). Motoro, Tangiia's son, was almost driven to entering Tiki's door to the land of the dead because of the fires set to trap him. Taakura, horrified, wondered aloud how to help Motoro. Her father philosophically remarked, "What can you do? He is mortal. You are divine." Finally, however, he sent a storm to dampen the fires and had Taakura throw a heavy cloak around her protégé. She then carried him off to Mangaia where he was worshiped as a god. This deed with its spiritual kinship to Homer also recalls the concern of the Mangarevan foster mother of Teiti-a-Toakau when he was almost destroyed by the fire god (Buck, 275).

Tangaroa's watchful and curious eyes were often focussed from the heavens upon earthly affairs. He immediately knew that Tangiia had not first offered him the eyeballs of Tutapu. When the Rarotongan high chief, Pa, also committed an offense against him, the god made the chief's clan lose their reason, wander from home, and be treated like pet pigs and slaves by another clan (Gill, 126, p. 49).

When by chance even his divine knowledge and eyesight could not fathom exactly what was going on below, he sent his messengers Ro-io and Ro-ake to investigate for him. Once (Large, 160, p. 183) they went below to discover what grief had caused Tangaroa's friend to raze the roof of his house, as was the custom when misfortune attacked a family. Through his messengers, the god learned that Uenga's home was dark the night after he had met her at the spring because she was about to give birth to Maui. The two messengers are known in Maori mythology as guardians of the realm of the sky father, Rangi, where they attended the personified heavenly phenomena. Perhaps related to Tangaroa's Rarotongan messengers are Roura and Rofero, who are his children, according to Society Islanders. They attended Maui in the coral cave beneath the sea after his parents had abandoned him (Henry, 147). I doubt that Ro, Roe, or Rohe, whose head Maui forcibly traded for his own when the Rarotongan gods sent her to fetch him to a council of divinities, belongs to this class of genii, whose classificatory name is Ro.

According to the Maui cycle, Uero, unidentified, predicted on the basis of astrology bad luck for Tangaroa before he met Mokoroa. Vaiau-te-ngangana where the stars ominously flashed may be a misspelling for Vaiari-te-ngangana, Rarotongan waters of inextinguishable life where the mother of Tiki, the first man, had him dive and come up at the farther end of the pool in the hope of rejuvenating him. Tiki failed to the derision of Te Atua-tini (The Innumerable-gods), the same, mocking, gossipy "they" who drove Tangaroa into exile. Tiki then headed for the tree from which spirits plunge into the land of the dead. Tiki's name is closely associated with the entrance to this world (Smith, 254, p. 108).

Mokoroa, the insulting shark, is known outside Rarotonga. The Maori (Gill, 125, p. 155; Best, 27), like Rarotongans, locate this fish in the Milky Way, where it is called either the fish of Maui or of Tangaroa. Pukapukans say that Maui caught it while he was fishing up land and threw it into the sky. Neither Maori nor Pukapukans say anything about Mokoroa's insult to Tangaroa. However, Aitutakians tell how their ancestors, Te Erui and Matareka, found a land occupied by "the wild one of Tangaroa," the shark Mokoroa. The god Rongo invoked Tangaroa to cause a heavy rain to fall and sweep the monster away (Gill, 126, p. 35). According to a Rarotongan prophecy, the posterity of a certain chief will arise, "the weight of whose

mighty hand shall be felt like the flapping of the tail of the demon fish *Te Mokoroa-i-ata*" (Gill, 126, p. 89).

Another mysterious fish mentioned in the Maui cycle, the *keu* of the place called Orovaru, appears as *Te Keu-totoro-i-Orovaru* in the thirty-second generation of an Aitutakian genealogy from Rupe (Gill, 126, p. 33). The hosts which rise up and try to stop Maui when he stands up and raises the sky are clans. *Atu-Apai*, as a place name, is mentioned in one of *Tara-are's* traditions of the pre-Tangiia era (Smith, 254, p. 4).

According to the cycle, after Maui had avenged all insults he returned to Rarotonga to seek the way to Avaiki where the gods gather. The house of the gods was at the base of the mountain *Rae-maru*; the open door was called *Kati-enua*; the mountain top was *Nga-varivari-te-tava*. The names are not consistently applied in this way. One account (Smith, 254, p. 166) states that the mountain or house in Avaiki of the chief *Tu-te-rangi-marama* bore the names of *Kati-enua*, *Nga-varivari-te-tava*, *Rae-maru*, *Te Maunga-a-te-ara*, and *Te-Mumuanga-o-nga-atua*. *Rae-maru* is a mountain in western Rarotonga back of the village *Arorangi* (Browne, 40, pp. 1-2). When *Ari* and *Tonga-iti* fastened Rarotonga's foundations to keep the island from floating, they set *Rae-maru* and three other mountains as posts to hold or support the land. *Rae-maru* lost its top because *Tangaroa*, who came to Rarotonga with his warrior, *Aumake*, disliked the rocky country and ordered *Aumake* to take his magic walking stick and clear the land. *Aumake* chopped off the top or "roof" of *Rae-maru*, and portions of it floated down to where *Tu-te-rangi-marama* was visiting his son. The unhappy *Tu* hurried home before the rest of his house could be destroyed.

#### SIMILARITIES TO MYTHS IN OTHER ISLANDS

The Rarotongan Maui cycle, unusual as it seems, has nonetheless many similarities to versions in other islands. Some have already been mentioned above. Widespread exploits are the elevation and arrangement of the sky and the adjustment of the winds, the fishing up of earth, and the visit to *Mahuika*, the fire goddess. Usually she is said to live in the underworld, but the Rarotongan myth identifies *Avaiki-runga* with eastern Polynesia in general, including the Hawaiian Islands. The name of *Pere* (*Pele*), the fire goddess, whom Rarotongans uniquely call *Mahuika's* daughter, is well known in the Hawaiian Islands and also appears in Society Islands myths (Henry, 147).

Rarotongan relationships with the Society Islands version of the Maui myth are numerous. The story of *Vai-takere* and the origin of the breadfruit tree recalls a Raiatean story of the origin of breadfruit (Henry, 147, p. 423). As in the Society Islands, the Rarotongan Maui is eight-headed, extremely serious and reflective, and miraculously reared in a cave by foster parents.

In both archipelagoes the raising of the sky is emphasized in his adventures. He completes the work of his relative, Ru, and of earlier gods who had failed to raise the sky to its greatest height. In the Society Islands, Ru is Maui's maternal grandfather and the sky-raiser; in Rarotonga he is an ancestor and sky-raiser. In Rotuma, Lu (Ru) is Maui's grandfather and fire god; in Mangaia, he is the boy's father. In the Tokelau Islands, where a generation shift has occurred, he is the child of Tikitiki and raises the sky, gets fire, and performs deeds usually credited elsewhere to Maui-tikitiki. The hero's brothers do not figure in the Rarotongan or Society Islands cycles, and Maui has no foil for his magical accomplishments. Only Maui-mua has any role among Maui's brothers in the Society Islands.

Tangaroa also figures prominently, though in different ways, in other than the Rarotongan versions of the Maui cycle. In a Tuamotuan version from Rangiroa, he is Maui's father and god of the underworld fire (Henry, 147). He is the boy's foster father in New Zealand and Rarotonga, but in New Zealand the god is head of the ocean department. In Rarotonga, he has a wider creative function recalling his role in the Society Islands. In Manihiki and Rakahanga, Tangaroa is Maui's grandfather and also is an underworld fire god, as in the Tuamotus. Rotumans, who in one version name him Maui's grandfather, seem to regard him as a sky god, for he sends rain at the request of Maui's foster mother (Vea, in Rarotonga; Veka, in New Zealand) who wants to wash off the abortion she has found. The meeting of Tangaroa and Uenga at the spring in Rarotonga recalls a comparable meeting of Huahenga and Ataranga in the Tuamotus.

The head-changing exploit of Ro and Maui which is narrated in Rarotonga was mentioned earlier for New Zealand where it functioned as a parable in the oration of a man who wanted to eat the enemies who had killed his child. Chatham Islanders also tell how Maui and Ro traded heads. Undoubtedly related is the episode from the Gilbert Islands about how Nareau, a trickster reminiscent of Maui and with the epithet of Tekitekite, exchanged heads with Taranga, from whom his son was later to get a hook to fish up land (Grimble, 135, vol. 42, p. 66).

Rarotongans have obviously used widespread material, especially that developing locally in central Polynesia, as the basis on which to revise the Maui cycle and unite it with the tradition of Tangaroa's insult by Mokoroa and need for an avenger.

## THE HERO OF ROMANTIC BURLESQUE

Some Tahitians, as discussed above, interpret Maui's character to be that of a conscientious citizen and artisan who helps put the skies and the universe in order so that religious ceremonies can be properly conducted. One Raroton-

gan intellectual family has transformed Maui into the solemn, semi-divine instrument of revenge for an insult to their primal god Tangaroa. Mangarevans have revised the career of the historically ancient but spiritually and physically youthful prodigy of Polynesia to conform to the hero pattern they most enjoy. Maori tribes like the Arawa generally see in Maui a semi-human, semi-divine juvenile delinquent who attempts by innumerable tricks to destroy the *status quo* of gods and men and thereby overcome feelings of inferiority and insecurity resulting from his unnatural birth and unusual childhood.

#### TUAMOTUAN AND MARQUESAN INTERPRETATION OF MAUI

What cannot be said seriously can often be said humorously. Raconteurs frequently narrate Maui's biography in the form of merry tales about how he turned the highly ritualized society of Polynesia topsyturvy. The widespread view of him as a juvenile trickster suggests that this phase of his character is older than the unusual Tahitian and Rarotongan interpretations. Most narrators regard Maui's exploits as those of an adolescent jokester who uses the cosmos as his playing field. A Marquesan raconteur, for example, has Maui's parents call their youngest son "that revolting child" (Lesson, 166, vol. 1). According to a narrator in Vahitahi Island in the Tuamotus, the parents call the boy "that nasty joker." Maui is just a bad boy. Like bad boys, his tricks are sometimes amusing, if he does not belong to one's family or if his tricks collapse the dignity of people whom one enjoys seeing deflated.

Author-raconteurs of Anaa and Fangatau in the Tuamotus, apparently inspired by Maui's wayward, rebellious spirit and exaggerated practical jokes, have revised the cycle to elaborate exuberantly adventures about his married life (Stimson, 264, 265). The *enfant terrible*, according to these narrators, survived the consequences of his youthful audacity to grow up, marry, and go through comic domestic triangles which would have made Chaucer and his audience prick up their ears. That in these triangles Maui should be the injured party with the horns is expectable. Maui is the epitome of poor, miserable human beings for whom nothing is quite as they would like it. He differs, however, in not passively accepting for long a world he finds out of step with him. The world, not he, will have to change its ways. He remodels the universe and takes revenge for personal insults, and thus fulfills the dreams of his narrators and their audiences.

Tahuata Island in the Marquesas has also combined several stories about Maui's domestic troubles into a literary unit, but with less erotic and poetic elaboration than in the Tuamotus. Tahuata places more emphasis on the relation between Maui and his mother than on that between Maui and his wife's abductors. The Anaa, Fangatau, and Tahuata versions share some of

the same mythological motifs, episodes, names of characters, and other details. Evidently, then, Tuamotuans and Marquesans have traded literary gossip directly with each other or through the medium of mutual sources of information. Similarities in versions from the two archipelagoes show that each narrator did not independently invent the idea of reorganizing miscellaneous myths about Maui and women into a literary unit and of identifying the various women he rescued from abductors as being one and the same individual, his wife Hina.

### RECURRENT THEMES

In most archipelagoes it is told how Maui destroyed fantastic creatures to rescue abducted women, thereby benefiting the world and adding to his laurels. Anaa, Fangatau, and Tahuata, unlike other Polynesian islands, have united and revised these scattered myths about Maui and women he rescued into a closely knit literary ensemble. The narrators have achieved unity by consistently identifying (1) the rescued heroine as being or becoming Maui's wife, (2) the villains as the abductors of the wife, and (3) Maui as the hero who destroys the villains. Finally, secondary detail has been added to create the atmosphere of domestic triangles.

Four recurrent Polynesian themes reorganized in this way by the three islands are commonly but not invariably part of the Maui cycle. They are (1) the conflict of Hina and Te Tuna, a personified eel, which ends with Tuna's death at the hands of Hina, Maui, or other characters and the origin of the first coconut tree from Tuna's head; (2) the abduction of a woman by an unpleasant personage and her rescue by a relative or friend who takes the shape of a bird to reach her; (3) the transformation, always by Maui, of a man into the first dog; and (4) Maui's meeting with a mermaid on his earth-fishing trip.

The Hina-Tuna myth, or incidents in it, is common throughout Oceania but is added to the Maui cycle only in parts of eastern Polynesia from Hawaii to New Zealand. In the Tuna myths, Hina and Maui are mother and son in Hawaii, husband and wife among the Maori, strangers to each other in the Society Islands, strangers at first but later husband and wife in the Tuamotus and Marquesas.

The second motif in which a hero takes bird form to rescue a beloved woman is known throughout Polynesia and its outliers. In a study now being completed (175), I have identified three historically related types of the myth: (1) Rupe, the personified pigeon, rescues his sister Hina from her unkind husband Tinirau; (2) Tinirau assumes the shape of Rupe to rescue his sweetheart Hina from an unkind husband, Eight-ears or Eight-eyes; and (3) Maui becomes Rupe to rescue his kidnaped wife Hina. Only the distri-

bution of the Maui type is of concern here. It occurs in the Tuamotus (Anaa, Fangatau), the Marquesas (Nukuhiva, Tahuata), the Hawaiian Islands (Hawaii, Oahu), and the Ellices (Nui). The versions from these islands are very similar as the following abstract suggests:

A great warrior (Peka in Anaa, Fangatau; Pea-pea-maka-walu in Oahu, Hawaii; Tai-ana-e-vau in Nukuhiva; Taini-i-vau, Tahuata; no name, Nui) abducts the wife (Hina, in Anaa, Fangatau, Hawaii, Tahuata; Kumulama, Oahu; no name in Nukuhiva, Nui) of Maui (all islands except Nui where hero is unnamed). Maui's mother tells him of the theft or aids him in recovering the woman (Oahu, Fangatau, Anaa, Tahuata), while the abductor's mother or both parents warn him of danger (Nukuhiva, Fangatau, Anaa). A storm occurs during the abduction (Anaa, Fangatau) or during the rescue (Tahuata, Oahu). To reach his wife in a distant island, Maui assumes the shape of a bird (enters plover stomach in Anaa and Fangatau, pigeon stomach in Nukuhiva, bird-ship or kite in Oahu, puts feathers into skin in Nui). On the island he sees his wife and her abductor on the beach (Nui, Oahu). Perched in the abductor's house, the husband waits through the night for the villain to sleep (all versions except Nui). Using the thief's own club (Nukuhiva, Tahuata), he kills him (all islands except Nui) and takes his wife home.

The third motif, dog-transformation, occurs only in New Zealand, the Tuamotus, and Hawaii. It is absent in the Marquesas, which did not have dogs in pre-European days. Other Polynesian islands which have the dog do not ascribe its origin to Maui, if they do have an origin myth. The Maori narrate that Maui transformed his sister Hina's husband, Irawaru, into a dog because of a quarrel over food; Hawaiians narrate that jealousy of the superior masculinity of his brother Li led Maui to turn him into a dog; Anaa and Fangatau narrate that Maui turned Ri and Togio into dogs because of their attentions to his wife Hina. Details of the transformation are usually similar. (See Luomala, 177.)

The fourth theme, the helpful mermaid on the earth-fishing expedition, is not found in the Tuamotuan Maui myths. It occurs in Tahuata, however, and the myth tells of a romantic meeting reminiscent of the Hawaiian and Manihikian earth-fishing myths presented earlier (pp. 16-17, 82).

These four themes, with the exceptions noted, have been used by Anaa, Fangatau, and Tahuata as the basis for their reinterpretation of Maui's career. Anaa and Fangatau have seized on these ancient themes to remodel them into a series of romantic comedies or, more precisely, a series of erotic burlesques. The exaggerated erotic detail by the Tuamotuan raconteurs who told their myths to the same collector leads one to wonder if such emphasis, which surpasses anything recorded from other Polynesian islands none of which is inhibited in these matters, is not extremely recent. The erotic exaggeration is probably the invention of the two Tuamotuan raconteurs, whereas the Marquesan interpretation of the same myths to show the conflict between Maui and his mother is probably of local Tahuatan invention.

## CYCLE FROM TAHUATA ISLAND

The Tahuata (Marquesas) version, told in an unornamented, telegraphic style, will be discussed first. Five adventures about Maui and his wife are united for the purpose of recounting how Maui was killed by his mother, according to the narrator Kahatemana of Hapatoni, Tahuata, who told the series to Samuel Elbert. Kahatemana did not narrate these adventures as part of a complete biography of Maui. However, other Marquesans have described familiar Maui adventures like those of his visit to the underworld to surprise his parents and steal fire, his snaring of the sun, and his fishing up of the land, so we know that they occur there. Kahatemana's series include two myths of which other Marquesan versions exist—earth-fishing and Taini-i-vau's abduction of Maui's wife. The Tahuata version is given below:

Maui is a miracle man. One day he speaks to his younger brothers, saying, "Let's go fishing." The three older brothers go with him in the canoe. They sail a long distance for days and days. Finally the three brothers grow anxious. "Where are the fish?" they ask their younger brother. "We're almost there," says Maui. In a short time, Maui speaks again. "Here are the fish," he says, "drop the lines." For bait a Tahitian flower is fastened to the end of the line. This is dropped down, down to the bottom of the sea. A beautiful woman down there grabs the flower and is pulled to the surface of the water. "My name is Maui-tikitiki-e-kohau-ata-ana," says Maui. The name of this land beneath the wave is Tonaeva. The woman's name is Hina-toouiaa. "O, you brothers, tie the line to the canoe. Take the woman," Maui says. The brothers are afraid to grab the woman, and she hangs back, for she does not want to be taken into the canoe. Then Maui grabs the line and yanks the woman Hina into the canoe. The land Tonaeva which has been dangling like a sinker behind the woman then falls away down to the bottom of the sea. "Throw away the line," Maui orders. Then they sail away and back to their own home. Maui takes Hina to his house to live with him in the house of his mother.

One day while Maui is away, the *matu'u* (a sea bird with yellow legs and long bill) steals Hina and flies away with her to an inaccessible cliff. Maui comes back to the house and sees that Hina is gone. "Where's my woman?" he asks his mother. "The *matu'u* took her," says the mother. "I can't get her," says Maui. "No, certainly not. You can never get her," says the mother. "Yes, I can," says the youth, "you watch." Maui finds the cliff to which the *matu'u* has taken his wife Hina. It is very high but he climbs up to the cave. The *matu'u* comes to fight with him. Its bill is long and sharp-pointed and its great wings strong. Yet the man with his hands is stronger, and the bird is soon killed. Maui climbs back down to Hina.

Another day while Maui is away, the Tuna (Worm) captures the woman, who is very beautiful. Tuna is enchanted, and has the intestines of a man and the body of a crawling animal. Maui returns, follows Tuna to its home in the *ama* tree, kills it, and brings the woman back to the house of his mother.

Again the woman is stolen, this time by Taini-i-vau (Seeker-of-eight-human-victims), a real man and a hero. The name of his war club is Te-ua-nui (The-great-rain). He is the older brother of Maui. "Where is my wife?" Maui asks his mother. "The hero took her." "I'm going after her." "No," protests the mother in alarm, for she fears for the death of her older son, "he'll kill you. He's a hero. Don't go." This excites Maui and provokes him. "I'm not afraid," he boasts. "That's your affair," says the mother. After a good night's sleep, Maui goes to look for his brother and his wife. The wind breaks with fury and it rains long and hard. He finally finds Taini-i-vau asleep in his house beside the woman Hina. Maui steals the war club, Te-ua-nui,

which lies by the hero's side. Taini-i-vau wakes up and demands his weapon. "It's gone," says Maui and the two of them begin to fight. Maui hits his elder brother on the head, killing him instantly. He takes the woman and hurries back to his mother's house.

Again Hina is stolen, this time by Tapaaautuafitu (Seven-weaved-coconut-leaves), the younger brother and a strong man. "Tapaaautuafitu stole the woman," says the mother when Maui returned. "I'm going to fight him," says Maui. "No," says the mother heatedly, "you've killed three men. This can't go on. This time you will be killed. Don't go." "I'm going to war," says Maui determinedly. Then the mother tells him where to find the house of Tapaaautuafitu. "It's a big house," she warns him, "there are six doors. When you go through the sixth door into the sixth room, you'll find him." The mother, anxious to preserve her last son and put an end to the killings, does not speak the truth. There are seven doors. Maui finds the house. He opens the first door. And not finding Tapaaautuafitu, he opens the second. He opens six doors. His brother is sleeping behind the seventh. He hears Maui making a great noise in the other room. He gets up, quietly opens the seventh door, enters the room, and kills his brother. Then he goes back to his sleep beside the woman. The mother is the cause of the death of Maui.

The version is little more than a series of tests of Maui's supernatural skill against that of four other supernatural beings, with the wife present in the plot only to give Maui a reason for going to war. The character of Maui's mother is better developed than is Hina's.

In many Polynesian versions of the Maui cycle, the hero's mother exhibits a tendency to be torn between maternal loyalty to her ugly, ill-born son whom she tries to help in his adventures, and annoyance with his embarrassingly unconventional and precocious behavior. The Arawa cycle depicts her as a doting mother; in Anaa and Fangatau, she is very devoted to Maui and helps him win his abducted wife back. But in no version other than the Tahuatan does she exhibit overt and ultimately destructive hatred toward her tempestuous son. For all his tricks, Maui plays none against his mother. As a matter of fact, the reason sometimes expressed for his snaring the sun and lengthening the day is to enable his mother to get her tapa dried and her food properly cooked (Luomala, 171). Although Maui's tricks suggest an intense hostility toward the world, probably as the result of his mother's abandonment of him after his unnatural birth, he does not show any overt hostility toward her but, according to the Arawa narrator, accepts much affection from her. That she resents having him come back to her after she has abandoned him, is not evident even in the Arawa cycle which extensively elaborates the attitudes of the *dramatis personae*. Instead she lavishes attention on him, much to his brothers' jealousy.

The behavior of Maui's mother in the Tahuata cycle is, then, quite contrary to what one would expect from her, to judge from other versions. She behaves toward Maui in Tahuata much as his father does in the Arawa version when, weary of the boy's tricks, he intrigues him into attacking the goddess of death who, as the father knows, would kill him. The Tahuata mother incites Maui to attack the *matu'u* by casting doubt on his ability to kill the bird.

When he goes to attack Taini-i-vau, she, evidently convinced of Maui's skill, is more concerned about her older son Taini's life than Maui's. Again her pretended fear that Maui will be killed drives him on. The same situation recurs in regard to Tapaaautuafitu, except that the mother makes sure this time that Maui will be killed by giving him the wrong information that leads to his death. Psychologists will not be surprised to note that the mother's overtly hostile attitude toward Maui becomes most marked after Maui's marriage to the beautiful mermaid. As the young couple live with the old lady, she is always the first to tell Maui whenever his wife has been stolen.

The Anaa and Fangatau mother's behavior is different, though the situations are similar. She too tells Maui whenever his wife has been abducted. She even warns him ahead of time that Peka, for example, is going to steal Hina. She also tells him to get Hina back and exactly how to do it. Of course, Maui says he will wait till evening and that he is in no hurry, but he finally goes. The mother in Anaa and Fangatau is genuinely helpful to Maui in accomplishing his deeds, but she obviously hates his wife.

#### ANAA AND FANGATAU VERSIONS

Unlike the Tahuatan narrator, the Anaa and Fangatau narrators have used the myths about Maui and his wife as chapters in a full-length biographical account of the hero. Greatly abbreviated abstracts of the plot in each island follow.

Fangatau tells how Ataranga, husband of Hina-hava, meets Huahenga at a spring while he is looking for posts to build a house for each of his and Hina-hava's four sons. Huahenga bears Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga, for whom Tane performs the ritual of sanctification after Mahuika, his maternal grandfather, has refused to do so. Maui snares the sun, obtains Ataranga's recognition, goes to the underworld in the form of a dove and kills Mahuika for the insult over the ritual. He fishes up Tahiti but the land breaks in two because his brothers have violated his order not to look back. While living in his mother's country, Maui marries Hina, Tuna's wife, and later slays Tuna, from whose head grew a coconut tree. Next, Peka abducts Hina whom Maui, taking the shape of a plover, rescues. Later Hina falls in love with Ri, whom Maui transforms into a dog. The same adventure is repeated with Togio as the victim. Then Maui tries to become immortal by changing stomachs with a sea demon, he fails due to his brother's interference but does not die.

In Anaa, the meeting of Huahenga and Ataranga at the spring is described but Hina-hava is omitted. Huahenga, who is the mother of all the Maui children, lives in the underworld with her father, Mahuika, and Maui-tikitiki. As a dove, Maui follows her inland which arouses the admiration of both Huahenga and Mahuika. After winning his father's recognition, Maui kills Mahuika for not building him a house. Snaring the sun and fishing up land follow. Then come the adventures involving Hina, Tuna, and Peka. During an illness Maui tries to become immortal by changing stomachs with a sea slug but fails because of his brothers. He does not die, however. Then Ri is transformed into a dog because of his attention to Hina; Togio goes home before he meets the same fate. Then Maui saves a brother from being burned by the sun, checks up on the ropes holding the sun, and marries a girl who has violated his tapu against entering his temple.

Tuamotuan narrators use many literary artifices to increase the mood of romantic burlesque, draw the various adventures together, and give the narrative continuity. Each major episode and occasionally minor incidents either begin or end with the statement that "after that, they returned to their home where they continued to dwell until a certain day." Each adventure concludes with a boastful chant by Maui and his mother, and a chorus referring with many erotic metaphors and hyperboles to the completed adventure. Each deed requires many magical chants for success. Contributing to the unity of style and mood is the Tuamotuan love of double entendre, the sexual significance of most of the names, and the erotic undercurrent.

The mother has an important role, as in Tahuata. She tells Maui in detail what he is to do; then the events which follow are described in almost identical language. Or, the raconteur first summarizes the situation leading up to the adventure, follows with an explanatory dialogue between mother and son, and ends with reciting the action and dialogue of the exploit's climax. Last of all, comes a chant in which Maui may briefly summarize for his mother what has happened. No listener should have difficulty in grasping the sequence of adventures with so much repetition.

Four is the mystic number used by raconteurs to give a rhythmic quality to the narration. Four tribes are visited by the husband-seeking Hina; Maui has four brothers; he extinguishes four brands of Mahuika's fire and makes four ropes of his mother's hair to snare the sun. Four major adventures describe flighty Hina's affairs before she is reduced to domesticity.

In keeping with the romantic, imaginative quality of the cycle, the raconteurs have left time and place settings vague. Havaiki and Vavau are comparable in the cycle to "East of the Sun and West of the Moon," although Fangatau identifies the fished up land as Tahiti.

The humorous twisting of psychological motives for the behavior of the *dramatis personae* contributes to unity of mood and structure. Tuna does not fight Maui because he loves Hina, who has abandoned him for Maui. He is angry because people talk of his cowardice. Hina, who has told Tuna in detail about how she will be away from home gathering food for a few days, really goes in search of a new husband, as she objects to the intense cold of Tuna's undersea home. The men of the Tane, Peka, and Tu clans reject her because of fear of Tuna, but Maui's mother thinks her just the woman for Tikitiki. The neighbors, wanting to see a fight, hurry to get the news to Tuna, who says he is glad to let Maui have her. But the gadfly neighbors "go so often to Te Tuna—always harping upon his wife—that in the end Te Tuna is roused to anger; so he says to the people who keep coming to him with this chatter, 'What indeed is this man Maui like?' " They describe Maui as little and ugly, so Tuna decides to cultivate his rage and satisfy his

neighbors' desire for a fight. He urges them to tell Maui he is coming "on an expedition of vengeance." Then, he chants a lament in good but hypocritical warrior style to work up sorrow over Hina:

My loved one has been stolen from me,  
What grieving love for the wife stirs within the heart . . .  
The winds (*sic*) have brought word that she has been stolen from me . . .  
The very winds lament her who has been stolen from me,  
Whose grieving love for the wife wells within the breast.  
Would that my eyes again behold the loved one—  
    who has been stolen from me—  
And is now clasped in the arms of another.  
Even the winds lament.  
Bitter is my anguish and despair!

After several verses with special emphasis on Hina being stolen from him, Tuna has convinced himself of his great sorrow and the perfection of Hina. Maui is now a miserable scoundrel for stealing Hina and not the benefactor he has first appeared.

The neighbors, who have hurried off to scare Maui with descriptions of Tuna, decide it will be a better fight if Maui believes Tuna to be just a "leaning coconut tree" with "weakness ingrained." That the first coconut tree has not been originated yet does not worry audience or narrator. Maui wins after a couple of battles, the gruesome details of which I omit. Tuna's buried head blossoms into the first coconut tree. Hina settles down to a dull life until a member of the Peka clan, who has been brooding over his earlier rejection of Hina, steals her, but Maui, in plover form, wins her back. Then, after Ri and Togio have been transformed into dogs, Hina is sufficiently impressed by Maui's prowess to discourage visitors.

Anaa and Fangataū have elaborated the personality of Maui's wife, building up their interpretation of her so logically and cleverly on recognizable foundations that one feels as if one "always knew she was that kind of person if one got to know her." Judging from versions throughout Oceania, the only purpose of introducing a wife into the cycle is to have her stolen by dangerous creatures whom Maui can slay to exhibit his superior magical skill. Most narrators ignore the wife even to the extent of not bothering to name her. They hurry on to the details of Maui's revenge on the person who has stolen her.

If Maui weeps over her loss, the tears are the conventional, crocodile ones required by custom, or tears of injured pride and prestige at losing the first round in a contest with another magician. His damaged self-esteem and reputation, and not affection for Hina, motivate his desire for revenge. Narrators play down or ignore details of sentimental grief. This is in keeping with the frequent interpretation of Maui as a busy trickster who meddles in every department of the world, regardless of the standing of the god who

is managing it. Narrators seldom say anything about the abductor's attitude toward the stolen woman. After all, that is unimportant compared to the fact that the woman is the wife of the famous Maui, from whom another supernatural being and great magician has dared to steal her. A big magical contest is in the offing.

The custom of ignoring the woman in the plot has led by indirection toward building up a certain personality for her, as a woman whom Maui, like Tuna, would be glad to lose were his honor not damaged in the process. Occasional narrators pick up this point. For example, the Arawa narrator says that Maui's motive in fishing up New Zealand is to haul up a fish so big that his wife will be impressed and keep quiet, for she has been nagging him for months about his being a poor provider. Tongans also refer to the nagging of Maui's feminine relatives because of his laziness, a trait of character peculiar to many Polynesian mythological characters of the male sex. Maui becomes so angry when his mother scolds him for being lazy that he seizes his digging stick and digs until he shakes the island. When she protests, he hurls his digging stick through the solid rock of a Tongan cliff, and carves out a hollow archway, growling the while about the perversity of women. "Will nothing please you? Want to be barren, want to have children!" His remarks have become a Tongan proverb frequently heard in households (Collocott, 64, p. 211 and 65, p. 8; Gifford, 118, p. 22).

Tuamotuan narrators have seized on the undercurrents of feeling about Maui's wife. They seem to have felt that anyone abducted as frequently as Don Marquis' Mehitabel or Maui's Hina could not be a colorless nonentity, and that Maui's lack of romantic feeling at losing the woman hinted at domestic troubles in his home. They have interpreted their series of adventures about Hina and Maui as hilarious domestic comedies. Hina is described as a beautiful, morally irresponsible, and capricious woman, whereas Maui is shown up as a terror among gods but a slow wit at home.

In Fangatau, Peka's mother poetically laments, in elegaic form, the death of her son and bitterly describes Hina as "a woman wayfaring hither over uncounted shores, ever provoking most guilty deeds" She expresses anxiety over the fate of her remaining sons as long as a woman like Hina exists in the world.

Hina is called a wayfarer because she leaves Tuna to find a man brave enough to marry her despite the risk of being killed later by Tuna. Maui proves willing to take the risk. In fact, his willingness to marry Hina seems more the result of his hope to provoke Tuna to a magical contest than affection for Hina. The only reason, as we have seen, why Tuna feels obliged to challenge Maui is because so many people ask if he knows about Hina and Maui and what he is going to do about it. Later when Peka steals Hina, Maui takes his time about going to rescue her. At the end of the story the narrator states

that getting Hina back is unimportant but that ~~Peka's death is a warning to~~ the world of the redoubtable prowess of Maui-tikitiki. Later, again, when Hina becomes involved with the two men whom Maui transforms into dogs, the narrator declares that Maui is indifferent to the woman's unfaithfulness. What angers the hero is her giving the best food to these men and the scraps to him!

The Fangatau narrator has made the twice repeated theme of dog-transformation an integral part of the plot by varying the motivation. After Ri has been transformed, the raconteur introduces a minor character, Ri's heart-broken sister, who urges Togio, a family friend, to avenge Ri. Togio then meets the same fate as Ri. The Anaa narrator varies the repeated adventure by having Togio heed Hina's warning to go home before Maui treats him like Ri.

The theft of fire from Mahuika exemplifies how a single adventure has been creatively adapted to the revised plot. It also illustrates that the character of Maui—whether trickster, culture hero, legendary navigator, or Don Juan—does not flow automatically from the motifs themselves but from their local or individual interpretation. In Fangatau, Maui does not steal fire to give mankind cooked food but to destroy the source of the fire god's magic and kill him for insultingly denying his relationship to Maui and refusing to perform the ritual at his birth. In Anaa, Maui slays the fire god for threatening to club Huahenga when she asks her volcanic father to build Maui a house. By seizing the fire, Maui obtains the god's mana and later his magical hook and line with which he fishes up land.

Although the detailed development of the scenes has humanized and individualized the Tuamotuan characters, their roles are basically similar psychologically to those in other Maui cycles. The father, Ataranga, is more amiable than in most variants and becomes positively doting when he has acknowledged Maui to be his son. In Anaa, he boasts of Maui's conquests and frequently advises his other sons not to annoy Maui. The Samoan father is also very proud of his son Maui. He carries him on his shoulder and brags that the child has a belt 100 fathoms long. Usually the father greets the newly found waif with tears and embraces, as in the Tuamotus. However, after a few of Maui's tricks and having to sneak out before dawn so that the boy will not follow him to the plantations to cause trouble, the father, as in Rotuma, for example, begins to think of dangerous tasks for Maui which unquestionably have sinister hopes behind them. It is about this time that the weary parents begin to speak of "the nasty joker," "the naughty trickster," and "revolting child" who has returned to them. Maui's attitude toward his father is rarely depicted as sinister. Rather he is revealed as a selfish, mischievous child who ignores his father's advice. Often the boy and the man work together, as in Tonga where both slay monsters and Maui dies in avenging his father's

death. In Rarotonga, he dedicates his life to avenging an insult to his foster father Tangaroa.

In Anaa and Fangatau, the conflict between father and son which appears in the Rotuman and Arawa versions, for example, has largely been transformed and concentrated in Mahuika as a wicked curmudgeon and older relative forced to acknowledge the superior mana of his grandson. Versions from other archipelagoes emphasize, as do the Tuamotuan cycles, the importance of blood ties to Polynesians and the reciprocal duties and behavior of relatives to each other. Tuamotuans ascribe Maui's quarrel with the fire god to the latter's refusal to acknowledge the immediacy of their relationship which would require him to perform a sanctification rite for Maui. Usually the fire deity welcomes the hero when their kinship is explained and patiently and generously gives the boy fire (19 times in some Maori variants). The old relative rebels only when Maui is about to get the last bit of fire in which the god's mana and life rest. The boy's cannibal grandmothers also welcome him, and repress their appetites when they learn he is a relative.

The roles of the Tuamotuan *dramatis personae* reflect the importance of the maternal side of the family in the social setting as well as in Maui's career. A lay figure in the Fangatau cycle is Toga, the mother's brother, who is more often with the hero and his mother than is the father. Toga aids the mother in the ritual of sanctification, attends Maui on his visits to his father, and appears in other episodes. The text of the cycle refers to "their" son, the son of Toga and Huahenga, in accordance with the Polynesian classificatory system of reference to children of siblings.

Ataranga's Fangatau marriage to Huahenga is not as casual as it might seem. She is the sister or cousin of Ataranga's first wife; the marriage is an example of the sororate. Maui spends most of his life in his mother's land. Tane, his maternal grandfather, receives the heads of Maui's victims, but it is not clear whether this is because of his relationship or because he has performed the baptism ritual for Maui. Tuamotuans are said to address prayers to Tane, the great deity of the Tuamotuans, at the life crises of a child (Williamson, 309, vol. 1, p. 340). The importance of the maternal side of the family is also demonstrated in the Samoan version of the Maui cycle, which tells how the horrible curse of an enraged father's sister against her nephew results in Maui's death after he has unintentionally insulted her.

Homely household minutiae and grave social and religious beliefs are mirrored in the Polynesian Maui stories. The emotional, economic, and social relationships of mother and son, father and son, brother and brother, brother and sister, husband and wife, children and elders, are frequently delineated more abundantly in the myths than in the recorded observations of ethnographers. These observations are always liable to distortion, but in the myths we have the beliefs of the people themselves told for themselves.

Firth (99, pp. 102-110) discusses the rarity of information about the individual family in Maori society and quotes opinions of scholars of Maori ethnography that family life, as we know it, is absent and the true family of father, mother, and dependent children is lost in the many larger relationship groups of the Maori. Firth does not accept this point of view, but agrees instead with Lowie, Malinowski, Goldenweiser, and others that the individual family is omnipresent and the fundamental basis of social organization.

Variants of the Maui cycle from the Tuamotus, New Zealand, and elsewhere in Oceania leave no doubt of the existence of the individual family, and of the emotional attachments between its members, and the complex nature of these affections. Like a realistic novel they portray the ambivalent and involved feelings between members of a family. Maui, the waif, is scorned and ignored by his mother, father, and brothers until he proves he is of the family. The parents mingle shame and pride in the precocious child's tricks. They brag of his accomplishments, until his tricks have injured them.

#### OTHER TUAMOTUAN MAUI CYCLES

In the Tuamotus, at least two other interpretations of Maui's career have been recorded which differ from the domestic burlesque of Anaa and Fangatau. They suggest the range of variations which can develop in one archipelago. One version from Rangiroa Island (Henry, 147, pp. 352-353), apparently generalized from a fuller record, describes Maui-tiitii or, as he is also called Maui-karukaru (Maui-the-wrinkled) as the youngest of the six sons of the god Tangaroa and his mortal wife Uahea (Huahenga). Having never seen their father, the boys are curious about him. Maui-tiitii spies on him, follows him to the lower world, escapes past the guardians of the underworld, Roo-iti and Roo-ata; breaks down the door to Tangaroa's land and takes the form of a bird which Uahea and Tangaroa pick up and pet. When the feathers fall off and reveal Maui, Tangaroa "feels mortified in finding himself duped by his youngest son and sorely upbraids him for venturing to appear where no mortal save Uahea has been allowed to come. In order to intimidate Maui he causes evil spirits to possess beasts, insects, and plants and to attack him on all sides. Maui comes off victorious for which his father rewards him by allowing him to catch the sun and regulate its course." Maui also kindles fire from the rays of the sun.

An unpublished version of Maui's career, which differs from those of Anaa, Fangatau, and Rangiroa, comes from Vahitahi Island. Dr. Emory translates the following from his notes (94):

Ataranga and his wife Huahenga had ten children, the eighth being Maui-tikatika and the tenth, the hero Maui-karukaru. After naming the parents and the ten children, the raconteur abruptly begins, "Bad indeed was the food because of the sand. The desire of Maui-karukaru grew and he took the body hair of his mother, broke it

into three, and went out above the hole of the sun and waited for the sun to come up, and when it came up, Maui grabbed it and noosed the sun." After naming the three ropes, the narrator says, "This was the reason he noosed the sun because the food of Huahenga was not cooked (and sand mixed into it). The reason it was not cooked was because the sun went too fast. When Maui had noosed the sun the food of Huahenga cooked and when it was finished the sun had not gone down. Huahenga divided the food among those children. The good food, the good food was given to all the children by the brother of Huahenga, that is, Ri. (But) the dry coconuts were given to Maui-karukaru.

"Ataranga and Huahenga again went to look for food. They slept till dawn and went out for the seeking of food. Maui-karukaru was sleeping between them. The loincloth of Ataranga got twisted around him (Maui). When Ataranga went, he was heard grumbling over that loincloth that was caught around him and Maui woke up. Ataranga took the loincloth from Maui and unloosened it. (Usually Maui is said to have tied it to himself so that he will waken when his parents leave and can follow them.) When Maui had wakened, the two parents went to the door of their path going down to Vaiari. They spoke to the guardian, 'When people arrive here, it is forbidden to give permission for them to go.' Then they went on. Now we go back to Maui-karukaru. When he had awakened he went and fetched Ri." He then changed Ri into a dog by pulling out parts of his body, treating him like a dog, and telling him to act like a dog. This he did because Ri had given him dry coconuts to eat instead of good food. "Maui came upon his parents' path. When the guard saw him, Maui said, 'Open the door that I can go on my way.' 'I won't permit you. Ataranga told me not to allow anyone to enter.' Then Maui said to that guardian, 'If you don't give me permission, I will kill you.' The guard was afraid and Maui went into Vaiari. When Maui had arrived, he saw the nature of Vaiari and its beauty and chanted of its beauty.... Maui saw his parents coming and ran to the world above and when he arrived there his parents did not see him but he saw them. Maui went in the pond and ordered the *mahuīhui* (lantern fish) that he (Maui) become like a *mahuīhui*. Ataranga and Huahenga came to that place. They saw a *mahuīhui*. Huahenga said to Ataranga, 'Here's our *mahuīhui*.' Ataranga came and took the *mahuīhui*. Ataranga said, 'Oh! That is our nasty joker!' Huahenga and Ataranga went to their place. They left Maui. When the two old people arrived home, he had also arrived there. They divided their food." Ataranga called to each child and to the last, Maui-karukaru. "This was the first time good food had been given to Maui-karukaru. Huahenga called, 'Oh, Ri, come here' Maui-karukaru said to Huahenga, 'How is it you are calling him?' Maui said, 'Thus you must call him: Moī, moī.' Huahenga called, 'Moī, moī.' She saw the dog that ran. She wept and this was the chant. Huahenga said, 'Oh, how is it you have treated your uncle like this?' Maui said, 'It is my way to get the good food of Ri. The coconuts came to me that I eat them.' Maui went to his place and stayed there three days. His love for his parents sprang up and grew, for what they were doing was going back and forth below fetching food. Thereupon his desire to see them grew."

Next is earth-fishing "Maui thought to go to fish up Vaiari and in the morning he spoke to his older brothers that they take their canoe and paddle seaward on the ocean to fish. His older brothers took the canoe, carried it on the reef, put it down. Maui-karukaru stood up, took up his hook and went to the canoe. When he reached it, he stood up and said to his older brothers, 'When we arrive on the ocean and you see me pulling up the fish, no matter what comes, you must not move even if my malo comes off.... You must not look out. Just remain crouched in the canoe.' The canoe was paddled out in the ocean. They went way out till the land disappeared from view.... They could just see the tip of the land. They let go their fishhooks and their hooks went way down to the depths of the ocean. Maui prayed to his ancestral gods that the hooks be caught on the coconuts and on the top of the mountain on which they were firmly fixed. Maui pulled the cord and they were caught. He said to his older brothers, 'Crouch in the canoe,' and they remained so. Then Maui drew up the land and it

came all the way up. His malo came off.... The brothers moved and stood up. They called, "Oh Maui! A land!" Vaiari broke the cord of Maui. Maui was not glad. They began to return to their land. When they arrived outside the reef, Maui stood up, stamped on their canoe. It sank. He swam in ashore and the chant of Maui was heard. He threw himself face down on the sand and chanted.... He kept on chanting. Maui planned again to journey, to return again on the ocean to the line of that fish. When he reached the ocean, he put down his hook to the bottom of the sea and prayed to the gods that the hook be caught on the coconuts, on the mountain, on the foundations of Hawaiki. Maui pulled his line. It was fast. The line was taut. Then he pulled and he got that fish. It came up to the surface and he chanted.... When he reached Avatea that fish became a land. This was that land—Tahiti and Maui and his parents lived on that land. For Maui was the land of Tahiti...." The concluding chant follows.

The resemblances of the Rangiroa, Vahitahi, Anaa, and Fangatau versions are obvious, but the differences are unusually striking and indicate that one cannot generalize too much about one archipelago. Each island differs as to its peculiar interpretation of Maui. Anaa and Fangatau through their emphasis on domestic adventures of Maui and his wife are more comparable in this respect to Tahuata in the Marquesas than to islands in the same archipelago as themselves. Historical contact between archipelagoes, literary creativeness of their author-raconteurs, and imitateness have played their part.

## THE TRIPLE PERSONALITY OF THE TONGAN MAUI STRUCTURE OF THE TONGAN CYCLE

From the Tongan Islands in western Polynesia comes an example of how Maui has been remodeled into a noble monster-slayer who kills one gruesome creature after another. These adventures form one part of a very complex but not well-integrated cycle in which Maui functions as a cosmogonic hero and as a mischievous trickster as well as a benevolent slayer of monsters.

The Tongan Maui cycle is made up of four distinct parts with Maui in three of them. These parts relate to (1) the creation of the world and earth-fishing; (2) the familiar nucleus of visiting the underworld and bringing back fire for mankind, followed with sky-raising; (3) a unit of adventures about killing monsters; and (4) the history of a distinguished Tongan family line which traces its descent from the Maui family. Consolidating and unifying diverse mythical and legendary cycles within the framework of the Maui cycle recall comparable processes in New Zealand. Tongans, however, have poorly integrated the diverse parts as regards the personality of Maui.

The cycle begins with the evolution of the world, Tangaloa's creation of the earth, and island-fishing by the Maui family. Nothing is said of the hero's birth or age, but he is mature enough to take charge of a fishing expedition which includes his father and uncles and to conduct a love affair with the wife of the owner of a magical fishhook, which he gets to fish up those islands which Tangaloa has not thrown down from his abode in the sky. In the

second part of the cycle, Maui is abruptly transformed into a mischievous youth who follows his father to the underworld, where he knocks the fire god unconscious and brings fire back to the earth. In the third part of the cycle, his personality again changes without any mythological rationalization. He and his father travel companionably together to kill monsters which include a rat, a bird, a lizard, and snapping trees that bend down to bite people. Maui-kijikiji, as Tongans call the hero, next kills a gigantic dog which has eaten his father, then lies down to die of a broken heart. The fourth part of the cycle narrates how a woman steps over the bones of the two men, magically becomes pregnant, and bears a son, Tui Motuliki, a wonder child who performs great feats (greater than those of the Maui, according to one narrator) and becomes the first in the line of dignitaries called the Tui Talaus.

Structurally, the Tongan Maui cycle is a series of myths united in being first about the Maui family and then about the family of the Tui Talaus. Author-raconteurs have assembled a miscellany of myths and told them in a very rough kind of chronological sequence. They have not yet integrated the miscellany and given it the motivation and reinterpretation necessary to transform it into a work of art.

#### LOCALIZATION OF THE CYCLE

Gifford (118, p. 10) calls attention to the fact that of the three groups making up the Tongan Archipelago, Maui's adventures are localized in the Vavau and Tongatabu groups to the exclusion of the Haapai group where his place "is largely filled by the hero Muni, whose exploits somewhat resemble Maui's." Gifford continues, "Both the mythological and ethnogeographical evidence point to an aloofness of Haapai anciently, particularly in respect to Vavau." The Haapai Islanders, who are midway between Vavau to the north and Tongatabu to the south, prefer heroes like Muni and Son of the Sun to Maui. One Haapai variant of the Muni cycle insists that Muni and his chief adversary, Punga, are just as strong as Maui and his father (Gifford, 118, p. 123). Muni, a castaway child, is miraculously saved from the sea by an old couple who rear him. He takes revenge against Punga, a cruel cannibal king responsible for his parents' death, and engages with him in contests, which he wins. Muni performs other great feats. The only one specifically similar to Maui's is the slaying of the Fijian cannibal dog.

Gifford states (118, p. 10) that the Maui tale appears to be a composite of two separate local cycles, one of which makes Koloa in the Vavau group the Maui residence, the other of which makes Eua in the Tongatabu group the residence. In the first section of the cycle, the Maui earth-fishers live on Eua, an island earlier thrown down from the sky by Tangaloa. In the second section, Maui's father leaves the underworld to live at Koloa, Vavau, where he marries and Maui-kijikiji is born. Gifford's statement might be

modified to read that the Maui tale is a composite of four or more separate local cycles—that of the creation of the world; that of Maui, the trickster; that of monster-slaying; and the legendary history of the Tui Talaus. The third part of the cycle localizes Maui and his father on Vavau where they kill a gigantic rat. Then they go to Eua to kill a moa, a lizard, and snapping trees. Next, they go to Motuliki (Fiji) to slay a cannibal dog. The first part of the Tui Talau history that follows, is localized on Fiji and later is continued on Tonga.

Many Tongan sites are associated with Maui; some have received their characteristic form as the result of his deeds.

### THE COSMOGONIC HERO

In the first part of the cycle, author-raconteurs have tried to reconcile different myths about the origin of the islands. They have begun with a long, evolutionary, genealogical series climaxed by the birth of the great gods. Authority over the world is divided among three sets of great gods. The division reflects an effort to adjust and organize mythological stock-in-trade about the origin of the world and mankind. The Tangaloa family is to rule the heavens; the Maui family, the earth; and Hikuleo, who appears only in the mythology of western Polynesia and Fiji, the underworld. The Tangaloas send down a bird from heaven to search for land. It finds none, so they throw down rocks which become Eua and Ata Islands. Three men are made from maggots. The four great Maui—Motua, Loa, Puku, and Atalaga—go fishing with Atalaga's son, Kijikiji, who with the aid of the man's wife, obtains a magical fishhook from an old man. Kijikiji then fishes up islands.

In an aberrant version of earth-fishing (Farmer, 98, p. 133) is evidence of an attempt to blend the Maui into the creation story more thoroughly. Hikuleo throws down rocks from the sky; Maui fishes up islands. Usually Tangaloa is the sky god who throws down rocks for islands. Maui then goes to earth as a sea lark to divide a maggot into two parts that become the first men. A fragment left over becomes a third man, of whom Maui thinks little though he becomes distinguished. From the underworld, Pulu, come wives for the men.

The necessity for adjusting and defining the deeds of the greatest of the Tangaloas and the most important members of the family arises from the fact that sometimes Tangaloa himself fishes up Tongan islands (Martin, 190, vol. 2, pp. 114-115). A comparable situation existed in Samoa where it is narrated that Tangaloa throws down rocks to become islands and fishes up others; Maui is not the earth-fisher at all (Stair, 260, p. 35; 261, pp. 212-213). Sometimes Tangaloa is the capturer of the Samoan winds; sometimes Maui is (Stair, 260, p. 57 and 261, p. 240; Stuebel, 268, pp. 65-66; Turner, 293, p.

49). The same is true of raising the sky in Samoa (Fraser, 111, p. 165; Fornander, 103, vol. 1, p. 69). In Wallis Island, either Tangalqa or Maui is the earth-fisher (Smith, 241, p. 110; Burrows, 46). Tangaloa's followers in western Polynesia have begun to strip Maui of his deeds in order to enhance the prestige of their principal god.

Samoans, unlike Tongans, have not attempted to combine various cycles with Maui's adventures. Only the stories of Maui's birth, visit to the underworld, and the theft of fire are combined into a unit. Other Samoan myths about Maui exist as independent stories.

### THE TRICKSTER

The second part of the Tongan Maui cycle is a variant of events common in other Polynesian Maui cycles. With the approval of his brothers, Maui Atalaga settles on earth at Koloa, Vavau, but goes to his underworld garden each day. Maui-kijikiji, his son, curious about his father's daily disappearance at dawn, follows him to the underworld though Atalaga tries to steal away. Maui-kijikiji, as usual, throws fruit at his father until he is recognized. Then Atalaga orders him to pull weeds but not to look around. Maui-kijikiji disobeys the tapu, and weeds spring up behind him. Then the boy runs around a banana pit holding his breath. (Tongans have forgotten the significance of this incident.) Atalaga sends the boy for fire, something he has never heard of. Maui-motua, who here appears to be Atalaga's father and not his brother as in the earth-fishing myth, is the fire god, with whom Maui-kijikiji wrestles until Motua loses consciousness. Angrily, Atalaga kills Maui-kijikiji but restores him to life when Motua recovers. Returning to earth, the father orders the boy to go first because of his tricky nature, but Maui-kijikiji disobeys because he has stolen fire and hidden it in the trailing end of his loin-cloth. Atalaga sees it and calls for rain, but the boy sends the fire into trees from which it is now obtained. Until that time, mankind ate raw food. It is after this event that the father and son go to kill monsters.

Before describing Maui's deeds in killing strange creatures, the character of eastern Polynesian monster-slayers will be analyzed to show how they differ from the Tongan hero in this phase of his career.

### MAUI, THE MONSTER-SLAYER

Many Polynesian, Melanesian, and Micronesian mythological heroes slay fantastic, man-eating monsters and ogres. Maui too is a monster-slayer, just as he also is a trickster, a cosmic transformer, a cultural benefactor and innovator, an ancestor, and a magician. Though working basically with the same adventures, author-raconteurs have, at different times and places, emphasized one aspect of his character in preference to another. The phase selected

depends on the function which the cycle is to perform in the raconteur's circle, his creative imagination and personal history, and, of course, the influence of contacts with raconteurs of his own and other islands.

Several western Polynesian and Melanesian raconteurs of Maui myths play up the monster-slaying aspect far more than do eastern Polynesian narrators from Hawaii south to New Zealand and the Chathams. Melanesian heroes who slaughter numerous cannibalistic ogres and demons often are, in character, wise and benevolent in contrast to a stupid or malicious companion or group of companions (Dixon, 83, p. 122). Monster-slaying and ethical dualism distinguish Melanesian wonder stories about heroes. A negative feature is the lack of development of setting which is richly embroidered in eastern Polynesian myths. Western Polynesia is transitional in literary style between Melanesia and eastern Polynesia.

Before seeing what Melanesians and western Polynesians have done with Maui and his career in accordance with their literary style, Maui's eastern Polynesian biographies will be reviewed from the standpoint of his monster-slaying activities in order to bring resemblances and contrasts between his personality in the east and the west into focus. Often the differences between regions are only those of degree but with the same aesthetic effect as an inch more or less on a nose.

#### EASTERN POLYNESIAN MONSTERS AND THEIR SLAYERS

The eastern Polynesian Maui engages in conflicts with cannibalistic gods, demi-gods, and miscellaneous supernatural beings, some of whom combine zoological with human qualities. These adversaries with the undesirable habits which Maui alters are important mythological personages with names, genealogies, families, careers, distinguished relatives, homelands, social prerogatives, personality peculiarities, and possessions that also have names and histories. Because the eastern Polynesian Maui makes basic, cosmic readjustments in the light, water, fire, air, and agricultural services of the world, he associates professionally with departmental heads like Tane, Tangaroa, Mahuika, and Hine-nui-te-po, who are first class dignitaries of the pantheon. He becomes embroiled with lesser people, like the cannibal woman who is the gate receptionist of the lower world, principally because they advance or hinder his progress toward the occupants of the inner sanctum. Because of their individuality, substantial social background, and anthropomorphic qualities, it is an insult to label these mythological dignitaries, however monstrously or fabulously they occasionally act or appear, as monsters, and to label Maui, their conqueror, a monster-slayer.

Certain minor mythical beings, like Peka, Irawaru, Tuna, and Mokoroa, are familiar to eastern audiences almost entirely because they are protagonists

in the Maui cycle. Narrators of Maui myths have crystallized the functions and personalities of these characters. What little is known about them usually results from their role in the Maui cycle. To make them memorable and recognizable, author-raconteurs have both elaborated and stereotyped their qualities and peculiarities until, like Maui himself, these mythical beings have become personality types. New narrative material involving attitudes and acts harmonious with a particular type accrue to its mythical representative.

Tuna, for instance, has been humanized and individualized in Tuamotuan Maui myths until his origin as an eel is merely one of his many personal traits. He acts, talks, and behaves like other semi-human, semi-divine mythical people in his set. However, he has a special niche in all Polynesian folklore as the bogeyman of beautiful girls, who flee from his slimy embraces, often into Maui's arms. Freud is not needed to interpret the significance of the eel deity. Native raconteurs, though ignorant of psychoanalytic theory, plainly label Tuna as an erotic symbol.

Tinirau, who is in the Maui cycle peripherally through marrying the New Zealand Maui's sister after her husband is turned into a dog, is, like Tuna, connected with water and fish. His zoological origin, if any, has long since been forgotten, however. As a contrast to Tuna, Polynesian storytellers, east and west, have stereotyped Tinirau as a composite Prince Charming and Don Juan, famous for his beauty and sex appeal, who is more loyal to his aquatic pets than to his pathetic brides. Tinirau admires his own appearance as much as do the frustrated or adventurous girls who, in myth after myth, leave home to seek the favors of the handsome, narcissistic hero. For instance, the Mangaian Ina, beaten by her parents for letting a thief steal family treasures, runs away from home to seek comfort from Tinirau (Gill, 122). The Maori Hina, seeing her husband transformed into a dog, ends up as Tinirau's bride (Grey, 131). Tahitian girls seek him because, like other women, they have heard of his good looks, charm, and beautiful floating island (Henry, 147).

Stripped of their trappings of status, genealogies, and possessions, certain Polynesian mythic beings familiar to us from Maui myths are indeed monsters. In occasional eastern variants they plainly appear as such. Some Maori variants of the Tuna myth, for example, describe Tuna baldly as an eel that attacks women (White, 306, vol. 2). Abductors, including Tuna, of the Marquesan Maui's wife are given, it will be recalled, so little description as to seem mere monsters in contrast with the same creatures which Tuamotuans have anthropomorphized. Historically and psychologically, the original interpretation of Tuna and his ilk probably was predominantly zoological. Although the Rarotongan Mokoroa is scantily described, the elaborate social setting in which he functions casts a reflected light of anthropomorphism on him. The non-Polynesian reader gets the feeling that every Polynesian probably knows

who Mokoroa and his relatives are even though the narrator did not happen to discuss his social status in the particular version of the Rarotongan cycle which has been preserved. Mokoroa's tail, with which he lashes Tangaroa, is a conventional, traditional peculiarity that does not interfere with the overall anthropomorphic view of him any more than do the tail, horns, and pitchfork with which Eurasiatic mythologists have dressed up the Devil who is their personification of cunning, malicious evil.

Eastern Polynesians know these major and minor actors in the myths, their relatives, home localities, and possessions as well as they know their earthly neighbors and relatives. The mythological world, its localities, social hierarchy, and inhabitants are like the reflection of the human world and its society as seen in a distorting mirror. The same people who developed the highly class conscious society of eastern Polynesia with its emphasis on mana, genealogies, and prestige developed their mythological world with the same emphases.

One could draw a picture map of the mythological world of, say, Rarotonga or Mangareva, from the narratives, and put in the provinces, landmarks, and residences of inhabitants. To it one could append a "who's who" of the leading residents. Tuamotuan narrators, under European influences, have attempted such pictorial charts, which are described in a later section of this book. This love for descriptive detail in plot setting and characterization is more highly developed from Hawaii south to New Zealand than in western Polynesia. The inhabitants of the eastern Polynesian mythological world are so strongly personalized and richly outfitted with human and supernatural qualities and possessions that some of them have become more than mere types. Like Loki, Odysseus, Helen of Troy, Cuchullain, Deirdre, Paul Bunyan, Br'er Rabbit, and Br'er Fox, they are complex, rounded personalities—folk, literary creations with a quality of spiritual and eternal reality that surmounts the effect of differences in culture, time, and history.

The mythical beings of monstrous qualities, then, with whom the eastern Maui entangles are, in most variants, too individualized and anthropomorphized to be classed as monsters, even though certain of them have names and grotesque, exaggerated traits revealing their zoological origin. Maui's fantastic adversaries have been secondarily interpreted in terms of eastern Polynesian cultural values and social structure. Eastern Polynesian author-raconteurs have made their gods, demi-gods, spirits, heroes, and heroines in their own image with the free, imaginative strokes permitted the creative artist.

Rarely does a monster enter eastern Polynesian mythology without author-raconteurs soon decking it with colorful, anthropomorphic traits. Central Polynesians often describe Tawhaki, Rata, Honoura, and Hiro as demolishing a series of cannibalistic creatures among whom are a gigantic bird and a bloodthirsty marine bivalve. Both also occur in western versions of the

Maui myths. Eastern Polynesians have graduated these creatures to the status of minor Pooh Bahs with titles, properties, definite residences, and prerogatives in the mythological world. Tuamotuan raconteurs describe the gigantic bird as "Matutu-ta'ota'o, a chief of the army of demon birds of King Puna, ruler of Hiti-marama which stood northward from Pitcairn and Elizabeth Islands, but has long since disappeared beneath the sea" (Henry, 147, pp. 495-512). This Matutu probably is identical with the unpersonified, Marquesan Matuu who stole Maui's wife and the Matuku of Tokelau Islands who carried off Sina (Macgregor, 185, p. 85).

An eastern hero's prestige would suffer were he to have too many experiences with unknown beings. He would be a muscle man, not a hero; a slaughterer, not a warrior. Eastern heroes who kill these creatures and rescue their victims do not stoop to mere slaughter. Their successful conquest results from magical techniques, friendship of the gods, support of influential, semi-divine relatives, and personal mana, as Maui's own career well illustrates. The physical thrust of the spear is an insignificant detail at the climax of a period of extensive psychological warfare in which the hero has concentrated his mana, buttressed by that of his divine supporters, against the mana of the demon. Just as monster is too crude a term for the raconteur's imaginative interpretations of mythic characters in the eastern Maui myths, the term monster-slaying is too crude to describe conflicts between the eastern Maui and the deities of the sun, ocean, sky, and death.

### THE TONGAN MAUI AS MONSTER-SLAYER

Next, the monster-slaying section in the Tongan Maui cycle will be considered, to illustrate how one western Polynesian group has handled this phase of Maui's career.

Maui-atalaga and his son, Kijikiji, decide to rid the world of dangerous creatures. The two go to Haalaufuli, then to Taanea (both places in Vavau where they have been living). In Taanea dwells a fierce rat that eats people. The two Maui's argue about who shall dig at the mouth of the hole and who shall wait at the breathing vent to kill the rat when it comes out. Kijikiji has his way and chokes the rat. Returning to Haalaufuli they hear of dangerous monsters at Eua. Going there, they meet the moa (bird). Atalaga wants Kijikiji to drive the bird toward him so he can stone it, but Kijikiji wants to be its slayer. He has his own way but merely grazes the bird, making it timid and less dangerous. A second stone injures it while it is flying to Tonga. When it comes to the Tongan beach, it dies, unknown to the Maui's who continue to throw rocks still to be seen there. The place where the waves break in Toloa is named after the moa. The two men meet a paper mulberry tree that bends down to bite them. Kijikiji pulls it up by the roots. The same thing happens to the snapping *toto eitu*, another tree.

The Maui's then go to Motuliki (Fiji) to kill an enormous dog, Fulububuta, large as a horse. It has eaten all but three people on the island, Alusa, Tuitavake and their sister Sinailele. The dog lives in a cave closed by a rock that opens and shuts of its own accord. After searching in vain for the dog, Kijikiji goes fishing for dan-

gerous sharks while Atalaga sleeps on the shore, where the dog seizes him and drags him out of sight. Suspecting the cause of his father's disappearance, Kijikiji follows the tracks to the rock wall, and then returns to sit on the beach and watch for the dog. When it comes, he seizes it but it escapes. He follows it to the cave where he shatters the door, kills the dog and takes out Maui-atalaga's body, which he carpets with leaves after burning the dog. Then he makes a place beside Atalanga for him self and wastes away for love of him.

Sina who goes to investigate what has happened to the dog steps over the Mauis' bones, becomes pregnant, and bears a child who was nothing but bones and sinews. She massages it until it is covered with flesh. Tui Motuliki talks and walks at once, sets fire to forests to keep warm, and destroys nine out of ten boats which come with people to investigate the smoke. After other adventures, he goes to Tonga where his descendants become the Tui Talaus, whose names are given. (See Reiter, 224, vol. 2, pp. 230-240, 438-448, 743-754; vols. 12-13, pp. 1026-1046; vols. 14-15, pp. 125-142. See also Collocott, 59, pp. 234-238 and 60, pp. 45-58; Caillot, 50, pp. 239-350.)

A variant gives Maui-motua, who in the cycle above is the fire god, as the monster-slayer who overcomes a stinging sea urchin and a biting *koka* tree, lifts an eel from the door of the cave in Kulukave, and kills the creatures mentioned above (Gifford, 118, 21-22).

The Tongan hero and his father go at their tasks efficiently without the fuss one finds in eastern Polynesian myths. They do not require for their success the brilliant cunning, the knowledge of social protocol and genealogy, and the ingenuity necessary to an eastern hero's success. The monsters, except for the dog, have no personal names and are of unknown descent. Maui and his father are self-conscious benefactors of mankind in destroying these dangerous creatures.

## SLAYING MONSTERS IN SANTA CRUZ

### RELATION TO MELANESIAN HEROES

If his hook had not caught in the top of a tree on a submerged island which he pulled up to clear his line, Mosigsig—as Santa Cruz Islanders call Maui—would be indistinguishable except in name from Melanesian mythological heroes who expertly slay unnamed man-eating wild boars, dogs, ogres, clashing clams, fish with eight fins, and other bloodthirsty creatures (Ivens, 150, pp. 436 ff.; Coombe, 67; Fox, 107, 156 ff.).

C. E. Fox, comparing the heroic Qat of the Banks Islands, writes (107, p. 155):

Qat is in many ways not unlike Maui the Polynesian hero, who also, perhaps, is a composite character, made up from several tales, and really a hero of old time. Warohunuga is a man of old times, of the times which produced also the giant Rapuanate and the hero Mauua, who fished up the island of Ulawa from the bottom of the sea. But that Warohunuga is Qat in San Cristoval dress cannot be doubted. He was the youngest of a band of brothers, he grew up as soon as he was born and did wonderful feats, which caused his elder brothers to envy and hate him and try to compass his death.

Warohunuga is the San Cristoval (Solomon Islands) hero, whereas Mauua is none other than Maui, I believe.

Maui loses most of his Polynesian roll call of deeds in Rotuma, the New Hebrides, Tikopia, Ontong Java, Ulawa, and Santa Cruz. Some of these islands are geographically within Melanesia, but called Polynesian outliers because of the physical and cultural similarities of the people to Polynesians. Maui is not among the Melanesian mythological heroes and their descendants who set traps for the sun to lengthen the day (Luomala, 171). Nor is he among the heroes who steal fire from a hag in the Melanesian underworld or on a mysterious island (Dixon, 83, p. 114). Nothing has been reported about his birth and childhood, whereas other Melanesian heroes are deserted at birth but eventually return home.

Of the well-known Polynesian myths associated with Maui, only the earth-fishing myth is familiar in the stories told of him in Melanesia. And even this adventure is ascribed occasionally to other Melanesian heroes. Only in the New Hebrides, San Cristoval (or Ulawa), Rotuma, and Tikopia is his name given as the earth-fishing hero. The hero, Aomarau, fishes up Arosi and the neighboring islands. In Santa Anna, in the same archipelago, a turtle fishes up the island; a variant of this story sounds very like the Maui stories in that the turtle has two children who notice that their mother plants coconuts and bananas at the bottom of the sea. When they ask her why she does this, she merely tells them to make a hook from part of her shell and paddle to her planting area where they must cast their hook. The turtle fastens the hook to a rock below, but when the children pull up their hook the rock breaks. The turtle fastens the hook to a firmer rock which the children haul up. It was Santa Anna.

In another myth, a turtle carrying a woman across the sea dives several times to bring up stones to make dry land for the woman to stand on (Fox, 107). This earth-diving theme, rare in Oceania, which specializes in earth-fishing, is common in North America and parts of Asia.

Maui, some of whose familiar adventures have become detached from his name in Melanesia, has been refitted with a new set of adventures in Santa Cruz, where the earth-fishing myth is used as the basis for a reinterpretation that presents Maui as a slayer of some of the same unnamed monsters found in other Melanesian cycles.

In the only published Maui myth from Santa Cruz of which I know (Coombe, 67, pp. 192-194), a storyteller credits the hero with killing a clam, an oyster, a sharp shell, and an eight-finned fish, none of which is named. He and his unnamed brother are fishing up Santa Cruz at the time. The role of the brother is not developed. An abstract of the Santa Cruz Maui myth follows:

Mosigsig lived in Utupua (an island 40 miles from Santa Cruz Island). He gathered breadfruit with his mother. One day he made himself a canoe from rotten breadfruit. Then he bathed himself, put his canoe into the water, and dived into the sea. The canoe thereupon became a sail boat. When Mosigsig dived again, the canoe was magically provided with a mast and sail. A third dive furnished the canoe with an outrigger and a cabin.

Then Mosigsig told his mother to prepare him some food as he was going to sea. His mother did not want him to leave because a large fish would break his canoe and eat him. Mosigsig, ignoring her fears, set out with his younger brother. Near where Santa Cruz now is, shoals of fish jumped into the canoe, almost sinking it. Mosigsig caught them in a net, took them to Utupua, and told his mother to cook them.

Again he went to sea; again his mother warned him. At the same place where he had got the fish, a large clam tried to destroy his boat. He dived into the shell, killed the clam, and took it to his mother. On the next trip, a large pearl shell oyster attacked his boat. He dived into it, killed it, and took it to his mother.

On his fourth trip, a sharp, upright shell that pierces men's feet tried to bore into the boat. Maui fished it up. His mother warned him against a fish with eight fins like sails. He and his brother met such a fish. Mosigsig asked his brother if he saw a sail. The brother said yes. Mosigsig asked if he saw two sails. The brother answered as before. The same question and answer were repeated until eight sails had been seen. The fish threatened to kill the two men. Mosigsig said, "Don't, you are my grandfather. Come on board." The fish did so; they ate together. The fish asked, "Where shall I sit?" Mosigsig pointed to a place on which he first placed a large knife that cut the fish. The same incident is repeated. At last the fish died and Maui went home to his mother. He asked her if there was anything else that killed men. She said, "Yes, there are more monsters at that same place."

Going out again, Mosigsig caught two trees with his large hook and line. He hauled them together with the bottom of the sea and made Santa Cruz. At sunset he went ashore. His frightened younger brother ran into the sea, back to land, and past the point of the land, thereby forming the lagoon and the point at the end of it. Unafraid, Mosigsig stood still to make one side of the island even. He was angry with his brother for spoiling the island and making such a long point for people to have to walk around.

Returning to Utupua, he lived there ever after. The pool into which he dived and the breadfruit tree from which came a canoe are still there. A newcomer must wash his face in the pool the first time he sees it.

### MONSTER-SLAYING IN THE NEW HEBRIDES

In Tanna and Futuna in the New Hebrides, stories are told about Maui killing a cannibal who has eaten all the people except the young boys, whom he has kept in a stone enclosure. Maui, a good spirit, takes human form, according to the Tannese, to break the stones to rescue the boys from Ramsumas. By various tricks Maui and the boys escape from the cannibal and climb into a *Casuarina* tree that increases in height at Maui's command. The stupid cannibal, seeing the reflection of the children in the water, dives in—a numbskull trick found in other Melanesian stories. Seeing the children in the tree and following Maui's suggestion, he tries to climb up on his palms, knees, and back. Maui finally lets down a rope, which the monster climbs. Maui cuts the rope and the cannibal falls down and dies. When he is cut up, the people he has eaten come to life. First, however, three birds check up

to see that the cannibal is really dead. In Futuna, Maui is said to have divided the land among the seven rescued children; and present-day inheritance claims are based on this division. (See Humphreys, 149, pp. 99-100; Gray, 129, pp. 656-659; Ray, 223, pp. 147 ff.)

Parts of the myth are told of other New Hebridean heroes (Humphreys, 149, p. 95), so apparently Maui is only one of several heroes who can be molded to fit the title role. The ill-tempered but stupid cannibal serves as a foil for the benevolent hero. Futunans also narrate that Maui forbade the introduction of sorcery into the island by wrecking a canoe bringing it (Humphreys, 149, p. 118). A partially sunken rock near the shore is all that remains of the boat (Ray, 223). This aspect of Maui as a venerated monster-slayer and good spirit contrasts with another New Hebridean interpretation of him, discussed later, in which he is a selfish grandfather who is no match for his tricky grandson.

### THE BENEVOLENT MAUI OF ROTUMA

Rotuma, northwest of Fiji, with which it is now included administratively as a British Crown colony, is only about seven and a half miles long and, at its widest, about three and a half miles wide. Maps showing Oceanic culture areas put Rotuma in the northeastern corner of Melanesia on the border between Polynesia and Micronesia. Though geographically within Melanesia, Rotuma is a Polynesian outlier. The residents, now mixed, are predominantly Polynesian in physical type.

The mythology, too, is a mixture in which Polynesian themes and characters predominate, particularly in the form known to Samoans, Tongans, and other western narrators. There are also Melanesian and Micronesian elements in the literature. Among the familiar Polynesian characters known to Rotumans, who have adapted the names to their dialect, are Tawhaki, Hina, Tinirau, and Maui himself whom they call Moeatiktiki. The myths about him illustrate the historically and psychologically mixed character of the mythology that Rotuman author-raconteurs have, in some instances, smoothly blended and frequently spiced with gayety and humor of a kind rarely encountered in Pacific mythology.

### COLLECTORS OF MAUI MYTHS

Rotumans have united the Maui myths into a cycle, and I know of no Rotuman Maui myths told as independent stories outside the framework of a cycle. Perhaps there are such, but they have not been recorded.

Fortunately, more than one Rotuman version of the Maui cycle is available. Of the three which have come to my attention, that published by Church-

ward in his fine collection of Rotuman myths is superior. I agree with him (56, no. 4, p. 482) that the "highly imaginative story . . . must surely rank among the best to be found in either Polynesia or Melanesia." The lively style and the presence of conversation and descriptive detail indicate that the variant was probably recorded immediately as it was being told by a skilled narrator. It is the only variant appearing to be an exact transcription of a native account. The Rotuman text, which Churchward has published with his English translation and explanatory notes (56, no. 4, pp. 482-497; 57) was dictated to Mesulama Titifanua, a native minister, by an unnamed, undescribed native.

Another version which has been published is that which W. E. Russell wrote down and F. Gibson edited (229, pp. 229-255). It lacks conversation and other stylistic devices which give a story a brisk quality. The version may have been written down from memory in a generalized, summary form to give the major events of the hero's career, as known to the recorder. It is valuable in connection with Churchward's account for the study of changes in names, repetition of incidents, and variations in events.

The third version of the Rotuman Maui cycle was recorded in English by Gordon Macgregor when he was in Rotuma. It evidently was not obtained in a situation approximating natural social narration, for two versions of many adventures are given together in the series pertaining to Maui. I have summarized the series from Macgregor's field notes, which he kindly loaned me, and wish to apologize for any errors which may occur here as the result of my misinterpretation of his penciled notes.

#### ROTUMAN INTERPRETATION OF MAUI

Churchward's and Macgregor's variants of the Maui cycle have two distinct parts which are psychologically and historically different. The two parts are so neatly integrated in Churchward's version that the plot moves without a hitch from the first to the second part.

The first half of the cycle includes the basic themes of abortion birth, upbringing by supernatural beings, return to parents, visit to the underworld to spy on the father who puts the lad to dangerous tests, theft of fire from the grandfather, and fishing up of land. The problems raised by the scattered distribution in Polynesia of specific incidents and details which occur in this part of the cycle are such as to delight and plague the comparative mythologist. Maui, or Moeatiktiki, appears as a mischievous and curious boy, a personality traditionally associated with his name throughout Polynesia despite occasional reinterpretations.

The second half of the Churchward and Macgregor variants begins with a local marplot (Tupuarosi as Churchward calls him or Tukarusi as Mac-

gregor names him) claiming the land fished up. It continues through several adventures, which differ in the two variants, with the marplot outwitting the three Maui brothers until Moeatiktiki accidentally kills him. This part of the cycle revolves around Tupuarosi who has the leading role. The Maui boys function mainly to have Tupuarosi play tricks on them and, in effect, pull their noses repeatedly while he thumbs his at them. By contrast with the meanness and maliciousness of Tupuarosi, the Mauis appear slow-witted, patient, and long suffering. These qualities often give the impression of being virtues which cast an aura of goodness and benevolence over their possessors, particularly when they eventually overcome the smarter, practical joker. Consequently, the Mauis, including Moeatiktiki, emerge as rather noble characters. They finally outwit Tupuarosi; wickedness is foiled; goodness triumphs.

Occasional incidents in the adventures in the second half occur elsewhere, in the Ellice Islands, north of Rotuma, but without Maui. However, the general nature of the contests between the Mauis and the marplot and the contrast in their personalities are typical of Melanesian style. Usually, though, in Melanesia, a benevolent hero is handicapped by malicious brothers. Here the three brothers overcome a malicious stranger.

The first half of the Rotuman cycle as recorded by Macgregor and Churchward is, then, Polynesian in regard to the adventures and character ascribed to Maui, whereas the second half of the cycle bears the earmarks of Melanesian literary style. The fusion of the diverse styles is a Rotuman accomplishment.

#### FIRST HALF OF THE ROTUMAN MAUI CYCLE

Each of the three variants of the Maui cycle includes the adventures cited above as occurring in the first half of the Churchward and Macgregor cycles. There the Russell variant stops. The other two, however, continue and tell about Tupuarosi who does not appear at all in Russell's account. It ends with the three Mauis fishing up land and then being transformed into stars by the sky god, Tangaroa, their grandfather, who is angry with them. While Macgregor's cycle also is capped with the incident of the brothers becoming stars in Orion's Belt, the event takes place only after many adventures with the marplot. Churchward does not have the transformation into stars as part of his cycle, but he refers in his notes to the Rotumans naming the three stars in Orion's Belt, "the three men," meaning the three Mauis.

The three cycles differ in some respects in presenting the adventures of Moeatiktiki from his birth to his feat of fishing up land. Russell's version, as presented in a manuscript sent to Bishop Museum, is given in full below. The same version published by the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* was edited slightly (229).

## THE RUSSELL VERSION

### BIRTH OF MAUI \*

Tagaroa, the supreme god (*aitu*) who lived in the sky, had a son named Lu who was married to Mafi. Their eldest son was called Moealagoni, the second son was called Moeamotua but the third child was a premature birth, so Lu took the bloody mass and threw it into the scrub nearby.

Tagaroa saw this act from above and sent rain which so washed the mass that it began to have life. There came along a landrail (*Vea*) which took the baby to its abode and nurtured him naming him Moeatiktiki who grew into a strong and healthy boy.

Moeatiktiki one day roamed so far as the home of his parents but ran away on the approach of his mother and told his experience to the *Vea*. The *Vea* told him to go again on the morrow and on being seen he was to again run away but on the third day he was to stay and make himself known.

The next day Moeatiktiki went along and ran way but on the third day played and made himself known as instructed. The parents were overjoyed, an oven (*koua*) was prepared and there was feasting and gladness, and the boy then stayed with his parents and brothers.

### VISIT TO THE UNDERWORLD

Lu, the father, had his plantations at Toga under the sea where he went every day but would not allow any of his family to accompany him. As Moeatiktiki grew older he became curious about his father's journeyings and determined one night to follow his father the next morning. When his father was asleep he tied a corner of his loin cloth to his father's genital cloth (*oro funa*) and in the early morning when Lu moved off the boy was awakened but feigned sleep when the father looked into his face. Lu untied the knot and went away suspecting nothing but a joke on the part of the boy.

Moeatiktiki followed his father and saw him remove a stone which he replaced from the under side. The boy waited a while and then went through in the same way and saw the land of Toga under him spread out as far as the eye could see.

Reaching up from the ground under him was a Malay apple tree (*hahia*) by which his father had gone down. Moeatiktiki started but before reaching the ground plucked a ripe fruit, pecked at it as a bird would, and threw it at his father who was weeding under him. The fruit struck Lu with such force that he became unconscious. When Lu came to he picked up the fruit and seeing it marked by birds as he thought, he went on with his weeding. The boy plucked a second apple and pecked it as a *Vea* would and then threw it at his father with the same result as the first. The boy plucked a third and took a bite with his teeth and threw it also at his father who was sent unconscious for the third time. On coming to Lu saw that it was bitten by a human being and on looking up espied Moeatiktiki in the tree.

Lu told the boy to come down and roundly scolded him for always being up to mischief and then sent him to a certain spot to cut down a bunch of bananas called *parimea*.

On approaching the tree the boy saw two *kalae* (Maori *pukaki*) flying round and round the bunch, and resisting his taking it. Moeatiktiki at length killed the two birds and brought them together with the bunch of bananas to his father, who then sent him for a root of kava. The boy found the kava under the charge of two great bull ants (*rauata*) and these also proved troublesome, but in their turn were dispatched.

### THEFT OF FIRE

On Moeatiktiki's return with the root of kava, Lu was more than ever determined that the boy should die and commanded him to go to a man some distance away to fetch some fire to cook their food. On the boy's arrival at the old man's hut he was refused the fire, but, after a heated argument it was agreed that whoever won at wrestling was to have the burning log. The old man swung the boy round and round and then shot

\* I have inserted subtitles.

him into the air but the boy landed on his feet and grappled with him. This time it was the old man's turn to be shot up into the air and higher than the boy went. After this the old fellow acknowledged defeat and gave the boy the log of fire, saying that he (the old man) will one day assist him through his foster parent the Veā. The boy returned with the fire to his father who then thought it useless to try any more that day to do away with the boy and after they had eaten they went home.

#### FISHING UP LAND

Shortly after this the three boys made up their minds to go fishing, and set out in their canoes. Moealagoni got the first bite and asked his brothers to guess what fish he had on his hook. Moeatiktiki's guess of a *kaira* (*saga*) proved to be correct, as [was] his [guess] of a shark (*ioro*) when Moeamatua hooked a fish. Moeatiktiki then hooked something, and while the brothers were guessing he heard the Veā crying out from the shore which reminded him of the old man's promise of help. He told his brothers he had not hooked a fish but had hooked on the land called Toga which he then pulled out from under the sea. Tagaroa watching his grandsons from the skies became very angry with them and took them up to the skies and turned them into *tupua*. These are the three stars we see in a row and know as the "three men," Moeatiktiki, Moeamatua and Moealagoni.

#### MACGREGOR VERSIONS

A summary of Macgregor's notes on Maui is given below. In order not to break the continuity, the entire sequence is presented. The adventures with Tukarusi, the marplot, are not elaborated in Macgregor's original notes.

#### BIRTH OF MAUI (TWO VARIANTS)

1. Tui Tonga married Sinafakatofua who bore Raho and Mamafiarere. Raho married Mafaatu who bore two daughters, Mamaere and Vaimarasi. Mamaere became pregnant from the sun and bore twin girls, Nujukau and Nujumaga. Vaimarasi became the second wife of the king whose first wife was Moriakevai. Raho wanted his grandchild born before Moriakevai's child so that the Samoans could do their customs first. He got the two grandchildren to hurry the birth and prophecy. Twins were born, Maiva, a girl was well born; Moeatiktiki, a boy was not, for he was only a lump of blood. (He does not figure in the rest of the story which is the legendary history of Raho's descendants.)

2. Mafuaki married Arutuf (male) and bore Moeamatua, Moealagoni, and Moeatiktiki. The latter, an abortion, was thrown away by Arutuf. A Veā bird saw it, asked Tangaloa to send rain to wash it off. The living baby was taken by the Veā to rear. When the baby's mother made an oven, Veā went down, pecked at it, and told the boy which she had named Moeatiktiki. He stole food from the uncovered oven. Many years went by before the woman knew of it; she did not tell her husband. Veā told Moeatiktiki the story of his origin and that those he stole food from were his parents. When Moeatiktiki was a small boy, Mafuaki told Arutuf about the food stealing. He hid, caught Moeatiktiki, who told the story of his birth. The father was pleased and prepared a feast for him. Moeatiktiki called his nurse Veā his grandmother.

#### VISIT TO THE UNDERWORLD (TWO VERSIONS)

1. Moeatiktiki had two younger brothers, Moeamatua and Moealagoni. They lived with their father who disappeared at dawn. Tiktiki tied his clothes to his father's. His father unfastened the loincloth and scolded the boy who woke up so early. Moeatiktiki followed his father into the bush where he went to a secret garden to work. The son climbed a tree, made a mark of a bird pecking on fruit, and threw it at his father. The second time he made the imprint of a dog; the third time he put his own tooth marks on the fruit. The father recognized them as those of a human being. He saw his son in the tree. The boy wanted to work in the garden. His father sent him to get a great

kava root at the end of the garden. The root was surrounded by black ants. The boy could not pull up the root so he broke off a branch for his father. Then his father sent him for bananas. Moeatiktiki found two great *kalei* birds guarding them. He killed them and took out the gizzard of one. His father was angry and wondered who had killed the birds guarding the garden.

2. There were two gardens, the father's and the boys'. Maui wore a loincloth and tied it to that of his father. He followed his father and returned. He worked in the home garden with his brothers, complained of being sick, went home, and went to his father's garden. He found the stone which he had pulled up and looked down and saw a hahia tree which has red fruit. He climbed down it and picked the fruit. First he made the mark of a bird on the fruit, then that of a human being. His father recognized him. Only brave people worked in this garden. Moeatiktiki worked there. His father sent him on errands. First, he had to get some bananas guarded by two birds, which he killed. This was a test of his strength. He saw a coconut tree, which he broke in two. He threw a part at each bird. He brought the bananas and birds to his father. This garden belonged to his grandfather and they were his birds. Next Moeatiktiki was sent to get kava root. It was guarded by two black ants, big as two kohia. They had white teeth. Moeatiktiki ran around the kava and pulled it up. A piece fell from the roots and killed the two ants. He brought the kava to his father who praised him.

#### THEFT OF FIRE

Next his father took him to Lu, his grandfather who alone had fire. Moeatiktiki asked for one burning piece. He extinguished it. He asked for a second piece and did the same. The third time Lu asked him who he was and challenged him. Lu threw Moeatiktiki up but did not hurt him. Moeatiktiki threw Lu up and hurt him. Then Lu let Moeatiktiki take as much fire as he wanted. The boy told his father who took him back to Lu and told him their relationship. Lu was proud of Moeatiktiki.

#### MONSTER SLAYING (TWO VERSIONS)

1. Moeatiktiki went fishing with his brothers. They caught sharks by the tens. Moeatiktiki gave nine of the ten away. His brothers called him mad. The people cooked the fish in pudding and sent baskets of food to Moeatiktiki. A great fish swallowed all the people out fishing, including the sisters of Moeatiktiki's father and all the children. Moeatiktiki asked his father for a rescue canoe to fight the fish. The three brothers found the fish making giant waves. Moeatiktiki killed the fish, leaving it to drift ashore. Others cut up the meat. People were heard inside. A voice asked them not to cut too close. Moeatiktiki investigated, found a woman alive, and gave her back to her husband.

2. Raravolta, a fish that eats people, was the chief and boss of the sea. Moeatiktiki killed him.

#### EARTH-FISHING (TWO VERSIONS)

1. Moeatiktiki told Lu that sometime he would pull his land up to the real world. He pulled it up now almost to the surface. Tukarusi saw it, took a coconut leaf and made a taboo sign on a tree. He came to Lu's house and the three brothers got on land and Tukarusi asked for them. He climbed on the rafters and let down a string and learned the names of the three. He claimed the island for himself, so all lived together. Lu and his wife set off. Maui and his brothers went fishing. He used the gizzard (of the *kalei*) as bait and pulled Tonga up from the sea.

2. Moeatiktiki pulled Tonga from the sea to the surface. He turned into a shark and made Tonga. He also made a "*famaga*," the head being a ? and the tail, a shark.

#### OTHER CONTESTS WITH TUKARUSI

Tukarusi told his birds the names of the three brothers. The next day he brought the brothers to play games and the birds called out their names. Moeatiktiki said it was not right to do this. The brothers went fishing. Tukarusi became a big fish and broke the brothers' nets. They returned empty-handed, telling Tukarusi it was too bad now they could not have a nice lunch. They played hide and seek. Tukarusi became a

rooster. Moeatiktiki guessed Tukarusi was a rooster. He threatened to kill it; Tukarusi make himself known. Some fishermen asked the four to eat with them but Tukarusi did not know where they lived. The four entered a big fish to go but Tukarusi went back. The brothers asked where he had been. He said planting in the bush. The next day Moeatiktiki suggested they go to the new eating place. They were hindered by a bamboo, a cane forest, and two stones until incantations were given. At the bamboo, Tukarusi hid and Moeatiktiki threw it to Fiji because Fiji was cannibal and used bamboo for knives. At the cane forest Moeatiktiki sent the cane to Uvea where the people were good at dart throwing. The two stones which snapped and killed people were thrown into the sky and became thunder.

Tukarusi kept two birds in his clothes. The four played games with the people whom they visited. They played hide and seek. The chiefs were (became) red coconuts and the people green. Moeatiktiki found them and began to shake the nuts down killing the people. Then the four hid but could not be found. Tukarusi became a hen; the three brothers became chickens. They won the game. They had a guessing game. All the people were in the house. The four buried them in the sand. Tukarusi took his birds and put one where the sun rises, one where the sun sets. The birds told them the answers of the guessing game. The four won and went home.

Moeatiktiki dug yams in a garden given him by Tukarusi who took another garden having yams near the surface. The brothers went fishing. Tukarusi became a big fish and Moeatiktiki killed him.

#### DEATH OF THE MAUIS

The brothers being egotistical wanted to go where everyone could see them after death. Moeatiktiki threw stones into the sky and asked to be put in the sky. He is now in Orion's belt.

#### COMPARISONS WITH THE FIRST HALF OF CHURCHWARD'S VERSION

In Churchward's version, the sequence of adventures from Maui's birth to his feat of earth-fishing is similar to that in Russell's account and in Macgregor's second version, except that the theft of fire intervenes between the obtaining of bananas and kava instead of following them.

Among the variant details are the names of the characters and their relationship to the hero. Macgregor's names for Maui's parents are entirely different from those given by the other two collectors. Mafuaki, perhaps the dialectical equivalent of Mahuika or derived from it, is the mother and Arutuf the father. Lu, according to the Macgregor version, is the fire god and grandfather. The other two collectors, who do not name the fire god, call Lu a parent of the Maui's, Churchward gives Lu, an earth-dweller and the older of two sisters, as Maui's mother, while Mafi, a resident of the underworld, Tonga, is his father. This is opposite to the relationship given by Russell. The sky god, Tangaroa (or dialectical variants of that name), appears in the Macgregor and Russell accounts as the sender of rain to bathe the abortion discovered by Ve'a. In Russell's version, Tangaroa is Maui's grandfather, though on which side is not stated. The sky god is not present at all in Churchward's account, but his place is partly taken by a sky woman, Marikilagi (Mary-of-the-heavens, a Christian element in the plot) who, with Ve'a, finds and rears the child. She, not Ve'a, as in the Russell and Macgregor accounts, is the foster mother, according to Churchward.

Churchward's narrator begins early to build up atmosphere by stating that Mafi "spends his leisure time above; and it is said that the place where his home was, down below, was a region to which strangers were not admitted, and in which were many forbidden and perilous things." It is to this region that Moeatiktiki later follows his father.

The ambivalent relationship of father and son is well-developed. After the father, who has caught the child stealing food, learns that he is his son, he and his wife "take<sup>9</sup> their child to their own home, and gather the people of the place together, and prepare food, and kill pigs, and feast with him." The father's friendly attitude began to change after Maui's trick to spy on him. The narrator says:

. . . after a while (after the feast) Moeatiktiki asks his brothers . . . whether they know where their father is in the habit of gardening. To which they reply that they do not know. So, one night, Moeatiktiki connects himself to his father's clothes; and after they have all slept, and daylight is approaching, the father gets up to go out to his garden; but, as soon as he gets up, his son awakes. "You bad, naughty boy," says Mafi.

Moeatiktiki pretends to be asleep, watches his father leave and follows him to a huge stone which he raises and creeps under. At daylight he follows his father, climbing down the Malay apple tree to the underworld where his father is weeding. Unlike Macgregor's first version and Russell's account, Churchward's version does not have the hero throw three apples at his father; as in Macgregor's second version, he throws two, the bird-marked fruit and the human-marked one. After the father has recognized his son in the tree and ordered him down, the boy notices that his father draws nearer and nearer his digging-stick as he weeds. Suspecting him of evil intentions, Moeatiktiki withdraws to a safe distance. "So, when Mafi sees that he is unable to do anything to his son, he sends him to cut down a bunch of bananas for them to cook and eat." Only one giant *kalae*, not two as in the Russell and Macgregor versions, guards the tree. After breaking its wings by throwing thick sticks—identified by Macgregor as halves of a coconut tree—Maui carries bird and bananas to Mafi, who scolds him for being naughty and hurting the keeper of his garden.

Mafi then sends the boy for fire. Twice, Moeatiktiki puts out the fire sticks given him by his grandparents. The third time he comes for fire he and his grandfather compete in a tossing contest which the boy wins. He then receives a log of fire which makes his father suspect him of mischief toward the old couple.

Next, the father sends the boy for kava guarded by two gigantic bull ants. To tire the ants so that he can get the kava, the boy runs round and round the plant with the ants in pursuit. Then, with the ants panting in exhaustion, he pulls up the kava and goes home. His father says, "Good gracious, my

<sup>9</sup> To avoid awkward shifts in tenses, I have changed the verbs in some quotations.

boy! I guess that you have done some mischief to my pets, haven't you?" "Not at all," says the boy. The day being over, they get ready to go home. First, however, Moeatiktiki runs to his grandparents' home to tell them that some day on hearing the cry of the *kalae*, they must watch for his fishhook. This they must hook to the banyan tree in front of their house so that he can fish up their land to the surface. (In Russell's version, the grandfather offers to help Maui someday through Ve'a.)

Later, Moeatiktiki, Moealagoni, and Moeamotua go fishing for sharks. They guess what kind of fish each has caught. The stereotyped answer is, "A shark, for we came to fish for sharks." Then Moeatiktiki takes out his hidden *kalae*, fastens it to his hook, and drops it into the sea. The *kalae* screeches as the hook comes near the house. The old couple, recalling their grandson's words, release the *kalae*, and fasten the hook to the banyan tree. As Moeatiktiki feels his hook catch, he asks his brothers to guess what he has caught and they give the stereotyped answer. Though the canoe nearly founders, Maui gets the land up and grounds the canoe before the grandparents' home. He goes in to visit them but cannot find them, for they have been carried off by the current. As the brothers walk around the land which is Tonga, they meet a man named Tupuarosi. Here, the second part of the Churchward cycle begins.

#### POLYNESIAN DISTRIBUTION OF ROTUMAN ELEMENTS

The first half of the cycle contains many themes common in variants found in Polynesia. For example, Maui's birth as an abortion occurs not only in Rotuma but in New Zealand and the Society Islands. Ve'a is Maui's nurse in New Zealand, his biological mother in Samoa. The trick of fastening his loin cloth to that of his father also occurs in Samoa, Niue, Manihiki, and the Tuamotus; in New Zealand, he hides the parent's clothing, sometimes his mother's, to create a delay to enable him to spy. In Samoa, Tonga, Niue, and Manihiki, as in Rotuma, only the father (not the mother) goes to the underworld. The trick of throwing marked fruit at the parents is found in Maui myths of Samoa, Tonga, Niue, and New Zealand. Like the girdle trick, it is a common Polynesian theme found outside the Maui cycle. Both in Rotuma and Manihiki, Maui leaves his brothers by a pretense to sneak away to the underworld garden of his parents.

In Hawaii, as in Rotuma, he obtains kava root as part of a test. He uses an *alae* (Rotuman, *kalae*) bird as bait to fish up land; and the bird is associated with bananas and fire. The Hawaiian birds are selfish monopolizers of the fire which Maui sees them use to cook bananas, whereas the Rotuman birds guard bananas in the underworld of Lu, the fire god. While the combination of elements differs in the two regions, the fact that both have Maui use the *kalae* as fishing bait and steal kava as part of a test makes the other

connection more possible. Running around the kava plant to exhaust the ants is reminiscent of the cryptic reference in the Tongan Maui cycle to the hero running around a banana pit holding his breath. Perhaps the pit is guarded by creatures which he seeks to exhaust. In the widespread fire myth, the detail of the hero and the fire god engaging in a contest of tossing each other up into the sky is found both in Rotuma and Mangaia.

## SECOND HALF OF THE ROTUMAN CYCLE

### CHURCHWARD'S VERSION

Churchward's version of the second half of the cycle involves three major adventures about the Maui and Tupuarosi. The first adventure concerns Tupuarosi's efforts to learn the names of the Maui. He invites them to come to his house to eat in the morning, and when they come he excuses himself saying that he will get the food ready. "With that, Tupuarosi goes outside, and changes himself into a spider. He then crawls up to the ridge of the roof, and lets himself down by a thread toward Moeamotua's head. Seeing the spider, the other two lads call out, 'Moeamotua! look at the little thing there—just about to fall on to your head.' Tupuarosi then knows that the lad's name is Moeamotua." This incident is repeated twice more with the marplot learning the names of Moealagoni and Moeatiktiki. Tupuarosi then prepares the meal and invites the boys to return in two days.

The second adventure begins with Tupuarosi instructing a flock of plovers to watch for the boys and call their names when they appear in sight. When the birds do this Tupuarosi hides and changes himself into a huge rooster. The boys see only the rooster strutting about but no Tupuarosi, and after waiting a while they go home. Next day, the marplot visits the brothers and asks why they have not come to visit him as they promised. They explain that they did come but since no one was home they left. Tupuarosi invites them to come the next day. "'Right you are,' said the three boys." The previous day's incident is repeated, but as the boys turn to go home Moeamotua becomes aware of the birds screeching their names and tells them they must stop calling the names of the Maui and must call their own names. Tupuarosi is again waiting for them when they get home and again invites them to visit him. The next morning, Moeamotua tells his brothers, "Tupuarosi will get into trouble today at last, after deceiving us for who knows how long." This time, they catch the marplot unaware and he has to prepare a meal for them.

The third adventure begins with Tupuarosi suggesting that they all go fishing together the next day. They agree, and next day they find that Tupuarosi has the net ready. Telling them to set the net when the tide goes out, he adds that he will go home to prepare some food and will join them later. Tupuarosi does put food on to cook but immediately hurries out into

the water and changes himself into a big fish which the Maui's drive into the net, which the fish breaks. Turning himself back into a man, Tupuarosi meets them on the beach, commiserates with them over their bad luck, and proposes that next day they shall set the net again. The same incident is repeated next day. After eating, Tupuarosi leaves to gather food and the Maui's fix the net. Moeatiktiki tells his brothers that tomorrow each of them must stand at the two extremities of the net while he stands in the middle to trap the fish. The following day, Tupuarosi again becomes a fish which the Maui's catch and kill. When they recognize the tattoo marks on the fish as those of Tupuarosi, they realize that it was he who had spoiled their fishing. Nor can they find Tupuarosi anywhere on the shore, which confirms their suspicion that they have killed him. Then they take possession of the marplot's land and house and stay there.

#### MELANESIAN STYLE OF SECOND HALF OF CYCLE

The second half of the Rotuman cycle as recorded by Macgregor and Churchward has been subject to active local reinterpretation in accordance with peculiarly Melanesian literary characteristics.

Maui's personality undergoes a change in the second half of the cycle. He now has tricks played on him rather than playing tricks on other people. The ethical dualism of characters found in Melanesian hero cycles is evident in this part of the cycle. The Maui brothers represent good and Tupuarosi, evil. Moeatiktiki gives away nine out of 10 fishes he catches, kills a cannibalistic sea monster, returns a rescued woman to her husband, and all too patiently endures Tupuarosi's destructiveness and selfishness. The Maui brothers seem scarcely a match for Tupuarosi, who knows the answers in guessing contests, has successful magical equipment, partially succeeds in his false claim to the land the Maui's have fished up, and plays malicious tricks on them. In the Macgregor version, when Tukarusi, as the marplot is called, claims the island fished up by Moeatiktiki, they all live together. The Maui's apparently make no attempt to oust the usurper. When Tukarusi teaches his pet birds who help him in his magic the names of the Maui brothers and, presumably, thereby gets magical superiority over them, Moeatiktiki mildly says it is not right of Tukarusi to do this. The marplot breaks their nets, which arouses no strong criticism but only gentle reproof from Moeatiktiki. Later Moeatiktiki overcomes a hindering bamboo, a cane forest, and two clashing stones, obstacles reminiscent of some of the monsters he and his father slay in Tonga.

Tupuarosi's tricks, like inviting the boys to a meal and then running away when they come, seem trivial, childish, and pointless as compared with events in Polynesian narratives. The insults by Tupuarosi are obvious enough, but it never seems to strike the Rotuman Maui's that they are being duped until after the second time the marplot has played the same trick on them. They

do not rise to the insults and the damage to their prestige as do Polynesian heroes, but contrive quietly to outwit Tupuarosi. There is nothing particularly magnificent about their slaying of Tupuarosi; they do so by accident, unaware of his identity.

#### INCORPORATION OF MAUI INTO ROTUMAN HISTORY

Rotuman historians have linked Maui by blood ties with the discoverers of the island. Macgregor has a version of Raho's career in which Maui is described as an abortion born to Raho's daughter. The Gibson-Russell manuscript includes a comparable story. Churchward (56, no. 1, pp. 109-115) has a version which slightly differs from the other two and does not refer to Maui at all.

The first events of the traditional history, including Maui's birth, take place in Samoa. Moriakevai's child which is born later than Vaimarasi's two children, Moeatiktiki and Maiva, is a boy who later takes Maiva's fish away from her. Raho, Maiva's grandfather, decides to make a home for her far from Samoa. Nujukau and Nujumaga, his grandchildren, fill two baskets with earth, which they put in his canoe. He and his household set out. They come to Rotuma, only a rock above the sea, where the grandchildren empty out the baskets on the rock to make land. Tokainiua, either a Samoan or Tongan chief, follows Raho's canoe to Rotuma and disputes his claim to it by using the stratagem of putting a dry coconut leaf as a sign of ownership of the land, whereas Raho, although the first to arrive, has a fresh green leaf as a marker. The two fight but the gods rescue and carry off Tokainiua, who is not seen again. Raho then takes it into his head to break up the island, but is halted by a woman who tells him the land is really his, not Tokainiua's. The story continues with other events.

It is this story into which Moeatiktiki has been introduced. His presence is referred to in the Russell-Gibson manuscript as "a native anachronism."

Making an island by depositing baskets of sand on it refers to the custom of colonists of bringing sand with them to barren isles in order to have soil for farming. The competition of Raho and Tokainiua is reminiscent of Macgregor's version of Tukarusi claiming Moeatiktiki's land. Conflict of two discoverers for possession appears in many Polynesian versions of the Maui earth-fishing myth, the origin of Manihiki and Rakahanga as told in those islands and Rotuma, for instance. It perhaps reflects historic incidents in which two rivals attempt to claim authority over a newly discovered island. Narrators also occasionally try to harmonize two versions of a myth based on the same theme by having the two different heroes fight each other or work together to perform the deed. Similarly, two different accounts of island discovery may be reconciled, as in this myth, by having the two claimants fight each other to establish priority of claim.

A variant of the Raho legend (Leefe, 165, p. 280; Gardiner, 116, pp. 503 ff.) states that the two chiefs decide to settle the claim by posing problems for each other. The successful contestant is to be the owner. Raho dampens an Arum leaf in the sea, puts the wet side on the sand, and asks his rival to count the grains adhering to it. He does so. Then Raho is asked to count the waves breaking on the reef. Angry because he is not successful, Raho tears the island to pieces and forms outlying islets. A spirit who has come in his canoe dissuades him from continuing his destruction. Raho leaves Rotuma to his rival and goes to an outlying islet, where his grave is now.

These counting tests, it will be recalled, form part of the tasks set Maui by the gods in Pukapuka Island.

### CONCLUSION

The Rotuman Maui cycle, as narrated by Macgregor's and Churchward's informants, is a composite creation. The first half, of Polynesian origin, perhaps approximating an earlier form of the Samoan Maui cycle, describes the hero in terms familiar from numerous Polynesian myths about him. He is the disobedient, curious son of a man of the underworld, and succeeds in tasks set for him by his father. In the second half of the cycle, a character unfamiliar in other Polynesian variants and peculiar to Rotuma appears, and, as far as tricks go, the shoe is now on the other foot. Maui and his brothers together are hard put to match wits with the marplot, who has a malicious sense of humor which would be appreciated by the wicked characters of Melanesian myths who annoy the benevolent heroes. Rotumans have apparently come under the influence of Melanesian mythology, for one can find characters like the marplot there and also to some extent in Micronesian myths, as for instance, in the Gilberts and Ellices where certain mythological characters are as adept as Tupuarosi at assuming spider form.

Rotumans have further integrated Maui into their ideology by making him a grandchild of Raho, the putative discoverer of Rotuma who came originally from Samoa.

### MAUI, THE NEW HEBRIDEAN GRANDFATHER

#### ORIGIN OF THE NEW HEBRIDEAN MAUI

References to Maui are more frequent in the southern New Hebrides than in any other western Melanesian archipelago. Myths about the hero are not the only Polynesian elements in southern New Hebridean culture. C. B. Humphreys (149) has called attention to many Polynesian affinities in these islands.

It is difficult to determine how much post-European Polynesian influence there is in the Maui myths from these islands. Most of them were collected

at the end of the nineteenth century, and by then there had been much contact with Polynesia. Early European missionaries and their Polynesian converts, like Simeona and Ru of Aitutaki, fanned out from eastern Polynesia to spread the Christian gospel in the Pacific. Ru arrived in Futuna in the New Hebrides in 1859. No reference to Maui occurs in the information he sent about the islands to W. W. Gill (121, pp. 177-178). In 1863, Maui-tikitiki and his grandson were reported as being worshiped by the Efatese (Murray, 201, p. 228; Brenchley, 35, p. 230), a statement disputed by the Reverend Macdonald, to whom we are obligated for most of the published versions of New Hebridean Maui myths.

In the New Hebridean myths about Maui, only the earth-fishing theme is easily recognizable as being common in Maui cycles elsewhere in Oceania. The other familiar themes have not survived in any form. The myth of raising the sky occurs but is told of an unnamed old woman who pushes up the sky with her poker. This form, although it is told of Maui in Tonga (Gifford, 118, p. 23), is more commonly found in Indonesia, whence it may have reached the New Hebrides directly (Macdonald, 181, vol. 4; 182, p. 763; 183, p. 6). An old, blind, cannibal grandmother cooking yams has her sight returned by Tafaki and Karisi, twin boys (Macdonald, 182, p. 767); her name is Lata, the dialectical equivalent of the Polynesian Rata, the name of the builder of a famous canoe. Tafaki and Karisi are, of course, the eastern Polynesian Tawhaki and Karihi. Other Polynesian motifs occur in the New Hebrides, but in a modified form. The themes on which New Hebrideans have based many of Maui's adventures are only faintly reminiscent of his career as told in other islands. Themes more familiar to Melanesian than Polynesian mythology occur instead. For instance, the motif of water being impounded by a selfish god is told in Tanna and Eromanga, in the New Hebrides, about an old woman (Humphreys, 149, pp. 99, 188), whereas in Efate it is Maui and his wife who impound water. The theme is also present in other Melanesian islands (Dixon, 83, p. 111) and in Australia.

#### NEW HEBRIDEAN INTERPRETATION OF MAUI

No cycle of Maui myths has been collected in the New Hebrides. However, Macdonald, who collected Maui myths on Efate Island and from Efatese living on the nearby Shepherd Islands, states that he has put several versions together. Because a number of adventures consist of contests between Maui and his grandson, Tamakaia, the series has a certain amount of internal unity which, however, no native narrator has used, so far as I know, as the basis for developing a closely knit cycle such as occurs in certain Polynesian islands.

In addition to this series of related myths, New Hebrideans also have a Melanesian-type of interpretation of Maui's character, as discussed previously

in the section on Maui as a monster slayer. Maui, it will be recalled, slays a cannibal who eats children. The southern New Hebrideans thus have two different interpretations of Maui's character: he is Tamakaia's selfish grandfather who hoards food and water, and he is the noble slayer of a destructive cannibal.

#### PROCESSES OF CHANGE IN THE EFATESE MYTHS

The basic change setting other processes of change into action in the series of myths about Maui and Tamakaia is the transfer to a local hero, Tamakaia, of the role usually played by Maui, whereas Maui has been relegated to a secondary and unsympathetic position. Tamakaia has become the courageous, tricky, and clever young hero who defies his grandfather, an old god, in this case Maui himself, to procure for mankind the food and water which he has selfishly impounded. The major processes of change are summarized below.

1. A local character, Tamakaia, has been incorporated into myths which have Maui alone as the hero. In Rotuma, a similar process occurs, when Tupuarosi, a local Rotuman mythological character, is incorporated into the Maui myths.

2. Tamakaia, the local favorite, has assumed Maui's role as a trickster and transformer.

3. Tamakaia has been made a relative of Maui, who has been aged by two generations to become Tamakaia's grandfather. A comparable generation shift occurs in the Tokelau Islands, where a character called Lu is made the son of Tikitiki and performs the deeds usually credited to Maui (Macgregor, 185).

4. Maui, Tamakaia's grandfather, plays the role of a conservative and selfish god of the kind which in other islands he generally defies.

5. The concentration of the unsympathetic roles in Maui and the successful in Tamakaia has produced a marked contrast in character between the two. This contrast, however, is not comparable to that between the long suffering Moeatiktiki and the malicious Tupuarosi of Rotuma, but more like that found in Polynesian variants in which the hero benefits or transforms the world at the expense of old gods.

6. The adventures in the form of contests between Tamakaia and Maui for supremacy with Tamakaia as the victor are presented. Such a presentation is familiar from many other versions of the Maui myths. The motifs recall those in other Maui versions, but the local development differs. The quest of a mysterious kind of food is often the hero's purpose for spying on his elders. The vegetation that springs up as soon as it is plucked recalls the weed-pulling task set for Maui by his Tongan father. Earth-fishing with the incident of the line breaking is told about Maui and other Polynesian fishermen.

7. European elements, such as identifying Tamakaia with Jehovah and having the fisherman pull up lands like Australia and England, have been added.

Below is an abstract of Macdonald's series of New Hebridean Maui myths (182):

Maui-tikitiki and his grandson Tamakaia were the first men. Maui, Tamakaia, and Maui's wife lived together. Maui gave his grandson food, but concealed the source of it. Tamakaia, determined to learn the secret, spied on his grandfather and saw that he kept one banana and one yam plant in a carefully enclosed place. No other plants or weeds were in existence. As soon as the fruit was plucked, more grew immediately. Tamakaia ordered vegetation to spring up. It did. Maui saw these plants and began to pick them. As soon as he had cleared them away, more sprang up immediately behind him. Tamakaia charged him with being lazy and not wanting, on this account, to have any plants in the world but one banana and one yam. Maui said that if Tamakaia could cover the face of the earth with vegetation he would be master of the world. Tamakaia did so.

Tamakaia called a bird. It came to his hand. Maui called in vain. Tamakaia called the fishes. Maui could not get them to come.

Tamakaia made a tremendous swing of a long rope fixed to the sky. He sat in the swing and Maui swung him out so that he went far out of sight. Then Tamakaia swung out his hook. As the swing swept backwards, he hauled up land. Maui sat in the swing and cast his hook in vain. Tamakaia hauled up all the lands. When he was hauling up Natonga and distant lands like Australia and England, his hook broke.

Just as Maui had concealed the garden from Tamakaia, so his wife and he had concealed the sea from Tamakaia and had enclosed it. He discovered it by watching her when she went to bathe in it. He opened the doors of the enclosure and the sea spread over the world as it is today.

Tamakaia made a boat of a banana skin to go to see England. He never returned from there. He was known there as Jehovah. His banana skin boat became the model for white men's ships and boats.

A variant of the contest between Maui and Tamakaia to fish up land does not mention the swing. While at sea, Tamakaia saw various lands below and challenged Maui to a contest. Tamakaia told him to cast a hook and get a fish. Maui caught a turtle which his grandson told him to cook. Then Tamakaia drew up Tonga from the sea and founded it on the bones of the turtle. This process was repeated for every land. When Epi was drawn up, it touched heaven. Tamakaia knocked it down, hence the great length of the island. Maui was told to cast again. He got a whale, which Tamakaia told him to cook so that he could eat it. Then Tamakaia drew up Efate and founded it on the bones of the whale. Again Maui cast out his hook. He pulled up a porpoise and a dugong. On them Sydney or Australia was founded. Another narrator said it was England. Then Tamakaia's rope broke. Had it not, there would now be overland communication between Australia and New Hebrides.

## MAUI AND BLACKMAIL IN YAP

Money and material possessions are highly valued in Yap, a coral-ringed volcanic island in the Caroline Archipelago. Gigantic doughnut-shaped stones are a spectacular material part of its monetary economy. The wealthy ruling class in three villages, notably Gatspar [Gatschapar], has increased its wealth and prestige by requiring Feis, Mogmog, and other nearby islets to join in a kind of gift exchange in which, I suspect, Gatschapar and the other two villages

come out way ahead. The dependents bring tribute of mats, fabrics, and food to the three villages of the feudal lords who then entertain them and send them home with presents.

Yap chiefs keep the Feis Islanders subdued and regular in bringing in their share of gifts by threatening to destroy the talisman of the life spirit of Feis. This magical symbol on which the fate of Feis rests is Maui's fishhook. Gatschapar village acquired this valuable possession apparently through the carelessness of its Feis guardians, who twice lost the hook. A Gatschapar chief who obtained it generously thanked his gods for the gift, the value of which he foresaw for Yap. He told his priests to guard it carefully in the village tapu place. According to one narrator, an earthquake almost destroyed Feis when the hook was thrown into the sea during a war.

Polynesians too regarded Maui's hook as magically potent. Either it became a constellation in the sky—the native Polynesian museum for many a hero's weapons or the bodily remains of himself and enemies—or it became part of the landscape, or a chief preserved it as a talisman of mana and prestige for himself. Different explanations of what became of Maui's hook may exist side by side in the same island without conflict.

Caroline Islanders have adapted to their own political needs the myth of how Maui fished up the islands with a magical hook. Not only native Feis scholars but authorities in the neighboring islands of Yap, Mogmog, and Lamotrek maintain that Feis, regarded as a geographical newcomer among the Caroline Islands, was fished up by Maui-tikitiki while he resided on Yap, Mogmog, Losiap, Fonalop, or Nosuop Island. These islands are said to have been created by a deity dribbling sand over the surface of the ocean, a good description of their scattered position in western Micronesia.

It is not clear why Caroline Islanders should single out Feis as Maui's fish, but that island has a kind of copyright on this explanation of its mythologically recent origin. Either the theme was first introduced there, or it was applied to Feis by a neighboring island with a cosmogony too satisfactory and well-established to incorporate a new and intrusive concept. Yap likens itself to a fish, pointing out its head, tail, and other anatomical features, as is done in New Zealand and other Polynesian areas (Muller, 199, p. 7). Apparently, Yap narrators could not resist applying this simile to their island, though they rejected earth-fishing as the explanation of its origin. Caroline cosmogonists agree that only Feis was fished up from the world under the sea.

Because the amendment to the Maui myth regarding the link between the fate of Feis and that of Maui's hook is to the advantage of Yap blackmailers, one suspects a Yap propagandist of developing the specific application of this sympathetic magic. Yap business men seem to have been aware of the value of folklore to capitalism, for they have revised another popular Caroline myth,

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Lorop soon dies as predicted. The brothers grieve only over the loss of daily food. Motiketik buries Lorop under a tree in Feis, as instructed, and returns to the earth.

Now the three boys have to work hard to catch fish. Because his brothers refuse to let him fish with them or use their equipment and bait, Motiketik makes a hook and line and steals one of their fish as bait. He fishes up a bunch of bananas. They take it. He fishes up taro, coconuts, cooked breadfruit, and other delicacies. They take them. To clear his hook which has snagged on a tree over Lorop's grave, Motiketik hauls in his line, almost wrecking the canoe to his brothers' terror, until land appears and all Feis comes above water. When the brothers claim possession, Motiketik tells them to knock on Lorop's grave and ask whose land it is. The older boys' raps are not answered. In answer to Maui's raps, Lorop says the land is his. Angrily the brothers leave Motiketik to make canoe channels in his new land, but three spirits from the spirit land Matang frighten the boy who runs to the other end of Feis or to Mogmog and later to Yap. The native drink he leaves behind pleases the spirits who decide to remain on Feis, where they become culture heroes. Other adventures deal with the spirits and the mouse-girl. The fate of Feis is bound with the fate of Motiketik's hook which Yap guards. Yap got it after it had been lost, found, lost again, and brought to Yap. Yap's threats to destroy the hook give them power over Feis.

The Caroline Islands biography of Maui, though converted to local political ambitions, is significant for further research on Oceanic prehistory, as similarities between it and Polynesian variants are marked. Tuamotuan and Society Islands versions of the Maui cycle differ more from each other than the Caroline Islands version differs from, say, that of Manihiki and Rakahanga. Incidents common to Caroline and Polynesian Maui myths include the mother's favoritism for the youngest Maui and the older brothers' jealousy and mistreatment; the parent's mysterious daily disappearance and return with foods, rare or absent on earth; spying by the youngest Maui; the rock entry to the underworld plantation; the bird transformation which does not deceive the parent; the detail of sitting in a *Morinda* tree and eating its fruit, though fruit is not thrown at the parent as in Polynesia; the brothers' refusal to give the hero fishing equipment and bait or let him go with them; fishing up food plants, snagging a tree, and pulling up an island claimed by the brothers; and the earth-fisher making canoe channels and being driven from the new land by a later character.

The Caroline tradition also has resemblances to myths told in Polynesian cultural outliers southward in Melanesia. Nukumanu (Tasman) Island, for instance, has a similar earth-fishing myth without Maui, who, however, is known there. A Nukumanu narrator recounts (Sarfert and Damm, 230, p. 385) that Puna-matua (Puna-the-older) and Puna-liliiki (Puna-the-younger) went fishing. When the younger pulled up land, the older man claimed it. To settle the dispute, they tapped on the ground to ask the keeper of the land, Molopu (dialectically reminiscent of Morap and Lorop), who was to have the land. Molopu did not answer the older Puna's question; when the younger tapped, he murmured, "Hmmm." Thereupon Puna-liliiki became owner of the island.

The long, twisting, but clearly marked trail left by Maui and his admirers all over Oceania, ends at Yap. However, it is probably only temporarily the end of the trail. In the west are gleams of light which would certainly guide one to chart farther the path or paths along which familiar mythological themes and names have drifted back and forth among the sporades of the Pacific Ocean.

There is no sharp break in the distribution of themes and even specific incidents which are usually told of Maui in Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia. The name of Maui is not as eternal or omnipresent as the mythological themes so often linked with his name in an ocean area of more than 13,000,000 square miles (fig. 1).

For example, one gleam of light on the path is provided by an earth-fishing myth told in Palau Islands, southwest of Yap, about a local hero named Tmelogod. When Tmelogod loses a fine pearl-shell hook made by his father, he sets out to hunt for it. An elderly witch who gives him magic advises him to go to a land under the sea. There he learns that the goddess of this land, his maternal grandmother, is ill from something stuck in her throat. It is Tmelogod's lost hook. When he removes it, his grateful grandmother tells him to use it to fish up food from the underworld. He not only fishes up many foods but a whole island. His greedy companions lay claim to most of his catch (Krämer, 158, p. 38). The similarity of this myth to earth-fishing myths from islands east of Palau is obvious.

The theme of fishing up land is uncommon west of Palau, but two prominent versions come from India and Japan. The Japanese narrate that the primal couple, Izanami and Izanagi, thrust a spear into the ocean; the drops of water that fall from the upraised spear become islands. In India the god Indra, in the avatar of a boar, dives into the ocean and fishes up the lost earth, using the tip of his horn as a hook. Here the theme of earth-fishing is combined with the related theme of earth-diving which has a wide distribution in Eurasia and America (Thompson, 278, pp. 122-123).

The incident of the lost hook and the search for it occurs widely, but not as part of an earth-fishing myth, in Indonesia, Japan, and the northwest coast of America (Dixon, 83, p. 328) as well as in Micronesia and Polynesia where it is part of the earth-fishing myth. Gilbert Islanders (eastern Micronesia) narrate, in the earth-fishing story, that when Matuarang, son of Nareau, the trickster, loses part of his hook he dives into the ocean to ask an undersea goddess, Taranga (elsewhere Maui's father or mother), if she has seen it. She offers him the choice of many hooks, including one lodged in her ear and one in her breast. Choosing the one hidden in her breast, Matuarang uses it with Taranga's help to fish up land (Newell, *Polynesian Soc. Jour.*, vol. 4, p. 233). Grimble's Gilbertese collection of myths (135, Mem. 12)

describes Taranga as being a male who raises the ancestral tree, a pandanus; has his wife stolen from him by the trickster; and even unknowingly trades heads with the trickster, as Maui and Rohe did in Rarotonga and New Zealand. Nareau's second name is Tekitekite!

In Hawaii, the mermaid Hina-keka, later Maui's wife, puts the magical hook into the mouth of Mr. One-Tooth, who holds the land beneath the ocean. Manihikians and Rakahangans state that the goddess herself puts the land on Maui's hook. Tongans have an earthly woman steal her husband's magical hook for Maui or help him select it from a collection. These and similar incidents must be compared with those found outside the area knowing Maui to trace the route which they or older versions have followed in coming into the Pacific islands.

Another theme, promising to be as fruitful as earth-fishing for further research, is that of sky-raising. Along the Asiatic littoral and even in Africa there are sky-raising myths which vividly recall certain Polynesian versions which have Maui as the sky-raiser (Dixon, 83, p. 178).

Felix and Marie Keesing (154, p. 56) have called attention to how similar the name of the Polynesian Maui is to that of the mythological hero Lumauig among the Igorot tribes in the Philippines. This hero, according to Jenks who worked among these tribes (153, p. 201) "gave the earth with all its characteristics, the water in its various manifestations, the people, all animals, and all vegetation. Today he is the force in all these things, as he always has been." He is a serious culture hero, for the most part, rather than a trickster like Maui-tikitiki. Other heroes among the Igorot, Ifugao and other Filipino tribes, have similar functions but different names. They help to raise the sky and to obtain fire from various parts of an underworld relative's body in ways startlingly like those used by the Polynesian Maui.

Themes like fire-stealing, earth-fishing, sky-raising, and sun-snaring are found the world over (Luomala, 171; Thompson, 278). In Melanesia, Micronesia, and particularly Polynesia these themes are usually associated with Maui-tikitiki. It is not surprising to find on the peripheries of these three culture areas myths not only based on the same themes but containing incidents and even details so similar as to point clearly toward historical connection rather than independent origin. Careful comparison of variants from Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia with those from Indonesia and neighboring regions will probably reveal enough historically related points of similarity to lend weight to the theory that Lumauig is Maui-tikitiki with an altered name.

This is a hasty glance at the promising and tantalizing paths which lie in every direction outside the region in which Maui is definitely a resident and has adapted himself easily to the needs of the islanders, whether those needs lay in the realm of religion, history, politics, genealogy, or entertainment.

## EUROPEAN BIOGRAPHERS AND COLLECTORS

### BIOGRAPHERS OF MAUI-TIKITIKI

The history of the numerous European theories about Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga is long and tortuous. Maui aroused curiosity not only among travelers and residents who recorded the myths, but among scholars engaged in comparative research on the religion, linguistics, mythology, and general anthropology of the world. A survey of the principal theories has more than academic or antiquarian value. From it can be determined previous contributions to the research and the way in which additional study from a different perspective might further illuminate the subject. Also, when a hero has been so much discussed, it is vital to distinguish between native information, on which comparative analysis should be based, and foreign theories about him.

This applies particularly to research combining field experience with theory. While the collector might seem better qualified than anyone else to theorize about the myths, the fact remains that his assumptions and method of collecting usually reflect the scientific and religious postulates of the European culture of his time. The postulates have also influenced the native narrator through his contact with collectors and other representatives of foreign culture.

First to be discussed is the application of the postulates to the Maui cycle by certain scholars, most of them leaders in formulating the fundamental anthropological hypotheses of their time. Though many of these scholars visited the south seas, none, so far as I know, recorded any Maui lore. Adolf Bastian is a possible exception, but whatever information he has not summarized from earlier published accounts seems to have come almost entirely from manuscripts of Europeans residing in Polynesia. The source material on Maui available to the leaders is mentioned only briefly in this section. It is more fully discussed in the subsequent section on the outstanding collectors and collections of Maui myths and their reflection of European ideology.

### NINETEENTH CENTURY POSTULATES

An outline of the ideological background of the early Maui scholars will show the interrelationship and continuum of the various individual theories. Research on Maui represents a cross-section of ethnological theory from the mid-eighteenth century to 1948.

The nineteenth century and the second half of the eighteenth comprised a period of exploration and colonization of lands like Polynesia. Scholars began to organize the chaotic data on the amazing beliefs and customs of strange people in the newly explored regions and to integrate the data with previous scientific learning.

Many resemblances were observed between the classical myths of civilized nations and those of savage tribes. The burning question was the origin of mythological themes common to different cultures of the world. Analogies between Polynesia and the Old World attracted scientific attention. Maui's feats of strength inspired comparison with Hercules; his capture of the winds recalled Aeolus; like Prometheus he stole fire for mankind; and he was named the Polynesian Joshua because he halted the sun.

The basic explanation for the universality of these analogies was psychological. Similar phenomena arose from similar causes operating on similarly constituted minds. In the classic phrase, the similarities were due to the psychic unity of mankind. As Tylor said (295, vol. 1, p. 415), "Myth [is] the organic product of mankind at large in which individual, national, and racial distinctions stand subordinate to the universal qualities of the human mind." Universal qualities, not local differences in their peculiar cultural context, were the major problem to these investigators, who wanted to discover the history of the development of culture and laws of its growth.

The basic thesis of the psychic unity of mankind applied to every aspect of society. On it was built the evolutionary theory of culture. An ideal or hypothetical developmental series through which society progressed was set up and paralleled by a series of concrete examples drawn from those cultures of the world which typified each stage in the ideal series. The civilized nations represented the highest stage of evolution. Evidence of their origin from primitive beginnings was seen in survivals of crude and irrational elements like, for example, the perplexing vulgarities embedded in classical mythology.

Savage tribes represented the modern approximation of primeval life, the base of the evolutionary sequence, from which civilization developed. Progressive evolution in primitive societies was demonstrated by concepts of sublime grandeur occasionally present in their mythology. A favorite example was Grey's translation (131, pp. 1-15) of the Maori myth of the separation of Rangi and Papa (Heaven and Earth), to which reference is made in the Maui cycle from the Arawa tribe. Primeval life could be reconstructed from knowledge of living primitive peoples like the Polynesians.

Max Muller picturesquely expressed this point of view in his preface to Gill's "Myths and songs from the south Pacific" (122, pp. vi-vii):

To find ourselves among a people [the Polynesians] who really believe in gods and heroes and ancestral spirits, who still offer human sacrifices, who in some cases devour their human victims . . . is as if the zoologist could spend a few days among the megatheria, or the botanist among the waving ferns of the forests, buried beneath our feet.

The comparative study of languages, in which Muller was a leader, profoundly affected the application of the evolutionary theory to mythology through research on the etymology of the names of mythological characters. Etymologists found Polynesian lore a fertile field because of the homogeneity

of the language and the lengthy genealogies which included gods and demi-gods with widely known names. The name of Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga was analyzed and compared with similar sounding words from any byway of the world in which a particular linguist might be interested. The dark and vague in one language was to be clarified through another.

The original meaning of names was thought to furnish clues to the original meaning of myths, obscured because primitive narrators misunderstood the language of their ancestors who had invented the myths as serious explanations of natural phenomena. The primeval language, according to etymologists of this time, had no terms for abstractions, so even when the ancestors analyzed nature abstractly and incorporated their thoughts into oral accounts, they sounded as if they were talking about human beings. Their descendants mistakenly thought they really meant human beings and were telling stories about their lives. Thus the true meaning of myths was lost, according to the linguists of the era, until etymology, furnishing the key, revealed names of gods and mythic heroes to be the same as those for thunder, lightning, stars, clouds, the sun and the moon. Myths were the ancestral explanations of the functioning of these phenomena.

The ancestors were thought most interested in explaining astronomical phenomena. One ideal stage in the evolution of mythology and religion was the worship of the sun, moon, and stars. Evolutionists uncovered sun cults everywhere, and threads from the skein of solar theory entered into all hypotheses. Every hero personified the sun, and his biography symbolically described its course. Maui was chosen as an excellent example of a solar hero whose career symbolized the daily itinerary of the sun. Like the sun, he rose from the ocean and died, strangled by the goddess of night. To the allegorical school of thought, he represented a primitive type of solar hero, which cultures more advanced than the Polynesian had refined and idealized. Polynesian literary style with its personification and deification of nature, and its romantic and poetic expression abounding with metaphors and adjectives, furnished rich material for the school of thought dealing in celestial allegories.

The theory of a primary "true" meaning of a myth and a single "correct" version, of which variants are considered garbled remnants, arises from the evolutionary hypothesis of an imaginary ideal entity which has its approximate parallel in reality. This belief happened to coincide with claims of some native litterateurs that they knew the correct version of each myth and that other versions were wrong and unauthorized. Consequently, the collecting of myths was inhibited once a variant of a particular myth had been obtained which native arbiters authorized or which European scholars and collectors found to demonstrate their theory.

At first, the possibility that analogies between myths of various cultures might be due to dissemination from one people to another was not much dis-

cussed. One reason was the reaction against using myths as sources of direct or indirect data for reconstructing history. The protest was against the exaggerations of the eighteenth century mythologists of the euhemeristic school of thought which believed every myth to be history in disguise, the metaphorical account of actual events. Also the evolutionary sequences were a kind of philosophic pseudo-history, which, activated by the spark of progressive development from the simple to the complex and from savagery to civilization, acquired for the followers of the evolutionary hypothesis the movement and depth of history.

The influence of Christian doctrines is apparent in the scientific assumptions, and, of course, very clear in the collections themselves, many of which missionaries procured from their converts. Either Polynesian religion was thought to have been a monotheism that degenerated into polytheism, or it was a polytheism evolving into a monotheism. One god, usually either Tane, Tangaroa, or Maui, would be designated by collector or investigator as the "Supreme God" of an island, meaning that this god was primary in origin and importance whereas other gods were but different aspects of him which in time had budded off to assume independent existence. For example, if Tangaroa were chosen as supreme, then Maui was said to have originally been only a name for a particular attribute of Tangaroa. Or, it was believed that the different names and functions associated with gods in the pantheon were coalescing into a single godhead.

The philologists, however, stimulated historic reconstruction in their search for the original homeland of the "Aryan race," whose language they said was the mother stock of the Indo-European languages, and whose mythology was the source of similarities in the myths of peoples now speaking languages derived from the Aryan. They believed that this race had dispersed in a series of migrations from the homeland carrying with it the mother language, mythology, and customs. While time and distance would often drastically alter the original culture, comparative research could uncover surviving traces to use in reconstructing the history of the people and their migrations.

Specialists in Polynesian anthropology were most concerned with this phase of European research. Polynesians were believed to be "a chip of the same block from which the Hindu, the Iranian, and the Indo-European families were fashioned." Investigators were to "pick up the missing links that bind them [the Polynesians] to the foremost races of the world . . . the Arian and the Cushite" (Fornander, 103, vol. 1, p. x).

Also, the impressively long Polynesian genealogies and native histories revived interest in their value as direct history of Polynesian dispersion and migration from Asia. Polynesian words, heroic names, and customs were compared with the Arabic, the Egyptian, and the Indian to trace the history of the Polynesians since their departure from the Aryan homeland. A human

Maui, later deified and crowned with supernatural talents, was supposed to have been a leader of the migration into Polynesia from Hawaiki, the ancestral home.

## EUROPEAN SCHOLARS

### SCHIRREN

Schirren's work illustrates many points of nineteenth century theories. His book, "*Die Wandersagen der Neuseeländer und der Maui-mythos*," published in 1856, one year after Grey's "*Polynesian mythology*," was the first comparative study of the Maui myths of Polynesia (233). These he discussed in connection with the native histories of the New Zealand Maori.

For information on the New Zealand Maui myths, Schirren quotes Grey, Brodie, Dieffenbach, Nicholas, Yate, Polack, and Shortland; for Tonga, he has read Lawry, Farmer, J. Thomas, Mariner, and Erskine; for Samoa, Walpole, Wilkes, and Williams; for Tahiti, Ellis, J. R. Forster, Bennet and Tyerman, and Moerenhout. The last two, Schirren also cites for Hawaii with Hale and Jarves. He praises Grey as the first to obtain a series of Polynesian myths in native texts and to present them literally translated and unabridged. He criticizes the often scornfully biased and inadequate summaries of Polynesian myths which previous collectors had made.

To Schirren, Maori migration traditions are as mythical as the cosmogonies and just as valueless for direct history. He states significantly that though differently named and localized, the heroes and their traditions are stereotyped and patterned.

Each legend, Schirren points out, begins with the hero's departure from Hawaiki, describes his adventures and travels in that land and on the earth, and ends with his final return to Hawaiki. Careers of the heroes, whether humanized gods or deified chiefs, follow this routine. Hawaiki, according to Schirren, was no more a real island or place than the heroes of the traditions were real men. It was originally either the upper or the lower world, from which the mythic ancestors came and to which their souls departed. The Maori later identified it with earthly localities.

Next, Schirren seeks the prototype of the migratory heroes and the original pattern of the numerous local tribal legends of origin and migration. Despite local variations, the Maui myths are fundamentally alike and describe the hero's movements between the earth and Hawaiki. Because nearly every Polynesian island knows Maui, and collectors regard him as a kind of national Polynesian deity, Schirren selects Maui as the prototype of Polynesian migratory heroes and the Maui cycle as the pattern of their careers. Maui is the key to the Polynesian pantheon. Schirren sees Tangaroa, Tiki, Tawhaki, and other prominent mythic characters simply as names for different aspects and functions of Maui.

Schirren has no doubt that the Maui cycle is the allegorical description of the course of the sun, which Maui symbolizes, traveling between Hāwaiki and the earth. After interpreting the cycle in detail as to its solar traits, Schirren applies his hypothesis to Turi, Manaia, and other Maori heroes of migration legends. They too emerge as personifications of the sun. Schirren concludes that Maori religion was a sun cult.

He thus denies the traditions any value as direct records of the origin and migration of the Polynesians from an original home in Hāwaiki. The homogeneity of the language and traditions, particularly the Maui myths, lead him to believe in the original unity of the Polynesian race. He assumes there must have been migrations at some time to disperse the people to their present islands. However, since he can see no alien elements in the language, culture, or the Maui cycle, to link Polynesians with Asiatics or Americans, he has no evidence to trace them beyond Oceania.

The Maui cycle originated, Schirren states, in a certain plane of mental development common at some time to all peoples. In this barbaric stage the worship of the sun prevailed. Such worship could rise anywhere in the world among pagans as an early stage in the consciousness of God, and develop independently in every race and every individual. It was never forgotten because of the daily reminder of the sun. The children of nature would spontaneously create stories about the sun as if it were a real person. Later, because of the variety of its associations with other natural phenomena, a pantheon of gods and heroes would develop from and around it, sometimes obscuring and distorting the original conception as in the migration legends which Polynesians themselves mistakenly believed, Schirren writes, to be true history.

#### WAITZ

Waitz (298, pp 250-263) does not accept three points of Schirren's theory: the priority of Maui to other gods, especially Tangaroa; the basically solar character of all Polynesian gods and heroes; and the complete identification of Maui with Tangaroa and other leading gods and heroes. To Waitz, Maui myths were later than those of Tangaroa because Maui was not a direct descendant of the primal gods; he had no cults, worship, or priests; and myths about him had a human character, portraying him as a culture hero of a more cultivated era than that described in the oldest myths.

Waitz agrees with Schirren and with other theorists of the time that Maui was predominantly a sun god and his cycle a sun myth; but he considers Tangaroa a god of the heavens, not of the sun. Whatever subsidiary roles Tangaroa played as god of the sea or of canoe builders and artisans originated from his authority in the heavens. While Maui and Tangaroa might occasionally be named the heroes of a similar exploit, Waitz thinks

this confusion and transfer expectable in myths, and not indicative—as the Forsters, Moerephout, and Hale believe—that Maui was simply another name for Tangaroa, or—as Schirren believes—that Maui was the primary god and Tangaroa merely another aspect of him. To Waitz, Maui and Tangaroa are distinct.

Waitz bases his Maui theory on the same references as does Schirren, carefully noting those he knows only from Schirren's abstracts and supplementing them with an occasional new minor reference which frequently turns out to be secondary. The earth-fishing myth that Waitz cites (298, p. 257) from Servant is apparently the same as that of Yate (311, pp. 142-144), whereas Dumont d'Urville's version (Waitz, 298, p. 258) was first published by Nicholas (203, vol. 1, p. 57). Turner (292) on Samoa and Taylor (269) on New Zealand are the outstanding new sources used by Waitz.

### BASTIAN

According to Adolf Bastian, the universally occurring mythological fancies are elementary or primary ideas which originate in many different places, at different times, and for different reasons, but which are always found because of their peculiar appeal to mankind. They acquire their local form under specific geographical and cultural conditions. This theory accounts for analogies between Maui and other heroes of the world.

Maui represents the popular folk hero of the rank and file who achieves privileges reserved for a higher class through his cunning rather than by power and authority. Bastian compares Maui to Hercules before that hero had been admitted to equal rank with other heroes. He also likens Maui to the American Indian mythic hero, Manabozho, stating again that comparable analogies with local modifications existed in all ethnological provinces of the world (15, p. 73). Manabozho is often mentioned by these early writers because the Americanist, Daniel G. Brinton (37), had at that time just discussed him.

Bastian's books mentioning Maui, which include all those on the south seas, are amorphous compendia of miscellaneous data garnered from Oceanic publications and manuscripts—which he acknowledges, if at all, only in the most general manner—and from information gleaned during his extensive world travels. Most of his references to Maui are traceable to earlier writers. His compendia are frequently quoted by Achelis, Tylor, Frobenius, and Graebner, who also depend heavily on Schirren's convenient summaries of myths.

The scholars use references which had come to the notice of earlier colleagues, and occasionally quote a primary source directly and add such new references as fit their hypotheses. Grey's "Polynesian mythology" is the most quoted primary source, with White's "Ancient history of the Maori,"

and Gill's "Myths and songs" following it in number of quotations. Graebner, though writing in 1920, depends largely on secondary sources, quoting in particular Westervelt's popular anthology of Maui myths. However, he also refers to Krämer's Samoan texts and Reiter's Tongan myths.

### ACHELIS

Achelis (3) continues along lines laid down by Schirren, Waitz, and Bastian. His significant contribution occurs in a few general paragraphs on the conflicting Polynesian conceptions of Maui's personality. He distinguishes what he calls Maui's theogonic-cosmogonic traits and interprets them as arising through priestly speculations, whereas the trickster and culture hero traits originated among the common folk. Achelis thinks Maui's fusion of trickiness and benevolence typical of an immature stage of thought in which the difference between good and bad is not clearly distinguished. The cosmogonic traits of Maui and the transference of deeds between him and Tangaroa were the later result of priestly speculation of no interest to the average Polynesian. There was, however, a constant reciprocal reaction between priestly and popular beliefs. Achelis also compares Maui with Manabozho, who, like Maui, combined many conflicting traits of character.

### TYLOR

Tylor brilliantly expresses the characteristic point of view of the era (295, vol. 1, pp. 282-283):

...The treatment of similar myths from different regions, by arranging them in large compared groups, makes it possible to trace in mythology the operation of imaginative processes recurring with the evident regularity of mental law, and thus stories of which a single instance would have been a mere isolated curiosity, take their place among the well-marked and consistent structures of the human mind. . .

...The general thesis maintained is that Myth arose in the savage condition prevalent in remote ages among the whole human race, that it remains comparatively unchanged among the modern rude tribes who have departed least from these primitive conditions, while even higher and later grades of civilization, partly by retaining its actual principles, and partly by carrying on its inherited results in the form of ancestral tradition, continued it not merely in toleration but in honour.

Animism, the belief in the animation of all nature with its highest expression in personification, was the outstanding process. To Tylor, myths of North American Indians and south sea islanders are the best modern representatives of the early period of mythology in human history. He often quotes variants of the Maui cycle to illustrate his theories.

Tylor attacks the exaggerations of the allegorical school with dialectics and humor. Any national hero, he declares, might be cut to a solar pattern, or to a political economy pattern if economics were one's enthusiasm. Never-

theless, because of his theory that nature myths evolved into heroic legends, Tylor seeks survivals of the primitive stage of nature personification in the heroic myths of Maui. In certain of the myths, he feels the personalizing of natural phenomena to be of so recent a period that one could discern clearly the lineaments of a nature myth of a decidedly solar type; solar because while "it is neither easy nor safe to fix the definite origin of the protean shapes of South Sea mythology, . . . on the whole the native myths are apt to embody cosmic ideas, and as the idea of the Sun preponderates in Maui, so the idea of the Heaven is in Taaroa" (295, vol. 1, p. 277). In the Maori myth of Maui and the goddess of death, he sees the episode of the sun's or the day's death "dramatized into a tale of a personal solar hero plunging into the body of the personal Night" (295, vol. 1, p. 335).

In discussing Asiatic and Polynesian historical relations (294), Tylor favorably considers the possibility of a historical connection between the myths of Thor, who fished up the Midgard Serpent which encircled the world, and Maui, who fished up Polynesian islands. Tylor displays more scientific caution in demanding "unequivocal evidence" of the common historical origin of the American Indian and the Polynesian myths of snaring the sun (Luomala, 171). While he thinks Polynesian migration traditions have a kernel of sound historic truth in them, his general theory that most myths instead of elucidating history needed history to elucidate them, keep him, unlike the eighteenth century euhemerists, from trusting myths for direct records of historic relations.

Tylor has laid the scientific foundations for the use of myths as indirect evidence of the contacts of peoples. It is unlikely, he says, that two very similar and complicated myths could have been independently invented. The presence of the same complex myth in different districts is contributory evidence that the inhabitants had been in direct or indirect historical contact in some way at some time. In his insistence that the compared myths share a number of similar elements before he considers the possibility of a common historical origin, Tylor differs from the euhemerists, for whom one or two general resemblances are sufficient to prove a single origin for myths.

The scholars discussed below carry the theory of the diffusion of myths and other cultural elements much farther than Tylor.

#### FROBENIUS

Frobenius (113, 114) uses examples from the Maui cycle to illustrate his evolutionary scheme and laws of change and to trace historical connections between areas. The major evolutionary levels in religion and mythology (or *Weltanschauung* as Frobenius calls the two) were: animalism (animal anthropomorphism); manism (ancestor worship) which through man's preoccupa-

tion with the problem of death gave rise to lunar mythology; and celestial mythology, especially solarism; and creation mythology. For each level selected, incidents from the Maui myths were deemed survivals of the developmental period in question. Frobenius notes many analogies between the deeds of Maui and other demi-gods of the world.

#### GRAEBNER

Graebner (128) surveys the conclusions of Frobenius and makes more intensive comparisons between the Maui cycle and the hero cycles and customs of Scandinavia, Africa, Egypt, India, and other parts of the world. The initial problem is the origin of the previously mentioned analogies between Maui and Thor. Graebner explains these and other analogies between Maui and Old World and African heroes as due to diffusion through a certain race and cultural group, which he calls the Indo-Germanic cattle breeders. He assumes that Polynesian contact with Indo-Germanics took place around the Bay of Bengal, an area which he thinks might be the ancient homeland of the Polynesians. The original nature of the heroes he explains by the solar theory.

According to Graebner's theory, similarities between Maui and other heroes prove their common origin in an ancient homeland. It is the antithesis of the evolutionary theory which explains similarities as due to independent invention wherever they occurred because cultures had gone through the same stages of development the world over but at a different rate of speed.

#### ROHEIM

Recently the rising star of the psychoanalytic school has turned its beam on the origin of heroes. The versatile Maui has fitted himself as smoothly into the symbolism of psychoanalysis as into the symbolism of solarism, as witness Roheim's statement (228) regarding Maui's attempt to outwit the old lady of death by entering her womb. Solarism and psychoanalysis unite. Roheim writes:

The solar myth of Maui is easily disclosed as a symbolic representation of man's most archaic desires and conflicts. His nature is a blend of the divine—in this case solar—i.e. of wish fulfillment, and of the human, i.e. reality. Even the exceptional divine hero, he who can conquer the father under his various guises, succumbs to the castration anxiety connected with the mother's vagina. What Maui attempted to do is really accomplished by the sun, which daily sinks into the pit of night "and rises with renewed strength in the morning."

Maui's conflict with his elders is interpreted as follows:

Under these circumstances it would certainly be unreasonable to doubt that Maui is the typical Young Hero of the Primal Horde, who for the love of his mother Hina fights and conquers his father the Sun.

## RANK

Otto Rank has intensively studied hero cycles in terms of the psycho-analytic theory as established by Freud. After summarizing the various types of current mythological theory, he writes (221, p. 3):

There is really no such sharp contrast between the various theories, and their advocates, for the theory of the elementary thoughts does not interfere with the claims of the primary common possessions and the migration. Furthermore, the ultimate problem is not whence and how the material reached a certain people; but the question is, *where did it come from to begin with?* All these theories would only explain the variability and distribution, but not the origin of the myths.

He recognizes the importance of borrowing and migration in the history of myths, but limits his task to investigating their ultimate psychological origin. Regarding the astral theories, he feels that the explanation for the myths is to be sought not in the sky but in the human psyche.

He systematically compares 15 great mythological and semi-mythological heroes of the Old World: Sargon, Moses, Karna, Oedipus, Paris, Telephos, Perseus, Kyros, Gilgames, Tristan, Romulus, Hercules, Jesus, Siegfried, and Lohengrin.

The standard saga or pattern he defines as follows (221, p. 61):

The hero is the child of most distinguished parents; usually the son of a king. His origin is preceded by difficulties, such as continence, or prolonged barrenness, or secret intercourse of the parents, due to external prohibition or obstacles. During the pregnancy, or antedating the same, there is a prophecy, in form of a dream or oracle, cautioning against his birth, and usually threatening danger to the father, or his representative. As a rule he is surrendered to the water, in a box. He is then saved by animals, or by lowly people (shepherds) and is suckled by a female animal, or by a humble woman. After he has grown up, he finds his distinguished parents, in a highly versatile fashion; takes his revenge on his father, on the one hand, is acknowledged on the other, and finally achieves rank and honors.

Rank compares this pattern with dreams, infantile phantasies, and the delusional structure of paranoiacs. He sees in the pattern the Oedipus situation as defined by Freud in which the child engages in conflicts with the parent of the same sex for possession of the parent of the opposite sex. He concludes (221, p. 82):

Myths are, therefore, created by adults by means of retrograde childhood fantasies, the hero being credited with the myth-maker's personal infantile history. Meanwhile the tendency of this entire process is the excuse of the individual units of the people for their own infantile revolt against the father.

He refers to Maui (221, footnote 66, p. 70), calling attention to the fact that Maui like the great heroes of the Old World was exposed in water, an incident which Rank identifies as a symbolic expression of birth.

## DIXON

Until 1916, when Dixon's "Oceanic mythology" was published, Schirren was the only scholar who had tried to assemble every available version of the Maui cycle for his research and to confine his comparisons to Oceanic mythology. Other scholars compared scattered details from any Maui story with any analogous myth anywhere in the world. Dixon declares the Maui cycle to be one of the most important for the study of the whole Polynesian area because of its wide distribution and the many versions collected (83, p. 41).

Dixon, after a fairly wide survey of the source material on Maui, demonstrates that the Maui cycle is a composite of myths and incidents which can and do pass from one plot and hero to another. He distinguishes several types of the principal myths in the Maui cycle and traces their distribution throughout Oceania. He refrains from solar and other rationalizations of the myths.

From the distribution of incidents in the mythologies of Polynesia, Melanesia, Indonesia, Micronesia, and Australia, Dixon endeavours to distinguish different strata in the growth of Oceanic mythology. He believes the elements of each stratum to have been spread by a wave or series of waves of people migrating into Oceania along certain routes where these incidents are now found. This interpretation (83, p. xiii) is in accordance with his fundamental postulate that

.. the ethnic history of the region involves the recognition of a series of waves of migration from the westward, each spreading itself more or less completely over its predecessors, modifying them, and in turn modified by them, until the result is a complex web, the unravelling of which leads us inevitably back to the Asiatic mainland.

## WILLIAMSON

The most recent theory about Maui was advanced by Williamson in 1933 (309, vol. 2). He believes that the original Polynesians had a cult of the souls of the dead associated with underworld fire, volcanoes, and earthquakes. Maui was the god of this region and cult. The extensive distribution of the Maui myths showed their great age and the antiquity of the cult, which must have originated in the pre-Pacific life of the Polynesians and been carried eastward when they migrated into the Pacific.

Subsequent immigrants into Polynesia worshiped gods of the sky and light, like Tane, Tangaroa, Atea, and Ru, and thought that their dead went to the west or northwest to a region believed to have been the ancestral home of the immigrants. A later cult was brought by other immigrants who believed that their dead went to the sky. The archaic Maui cult existed side by side with the cults of the new arrivals but the interaction of the three cults and other factors led to the modification and degeneration of the Maui cult.

Williamson then considered his hypotheses in the light of Rivers' theories of the immigration of two different streams of culture into the Pacific, the dual or sitting-interment people and the kava people. Williamson concludes that his and Rivers' theories support each other.

Williamson makes the most extensive summary of source material on Maui to date. He assembles, abstracts, and publishes abstracts of Maui lore from central Polynesia and those Melanesian islands influenced by Polynesian culture. Few oversights occur, considering the bulk of material, much of which has been published in out-of-the-way journals.

Williamson makes practically no evaluation of his sources, however, and his abstracts must be used with care as to provenience and original citation. He does not always distinguish primary sources from secondary, inaccurately quoted reprints, which have for him equal value as evidence. For example, he quotes (309, vol. 2, pp. 191-192) from Westervelt's popular anthology, which does not cite sources, two myths about the theft of fire as narrated, according to Westervelt, in the Society Islands. Comparison of material would have shown that these two Westervelt myths were popularized summaries of Gill's Mangaian and Manihikian versions to which Westervelt had assigned the wrong provenience. It happens that, after quoting Westervelt, Williamson summarizes directly from Gill himself in the next few pages. Even so he erroneously assigns the Manihikian version to Rarotonga because Rarotonga is mentioned in the myth. Such confusion is common.

Williamson's material on central Polynesia is now incomplete, as new information on Maui has appeared in publications of Bishop Museum and in other publications. Williamson does not cite data from Hawaii, New Zealand, the Chathams, and Micronesia, which are outside the scope of his study.

### CONCLUSION

The problems of Maui are seen by scholars of the evolutionary and psychological school of thought from a macroscopic point of view and are attacked by deductive methods. Their theories deal with concepts, character types, patterns, meanings, and developmental sequences of universal, or nearly universal distribution. Maui has significance only in so far as he can be pigeon-holed according to these general principles. The emphasis is, therefore, on his analogies to other heroes, and on those analogies upon which the ideal concepts of universal validity are based. It explains why Maui of Oceania is compared with Thor of Scandinavia and Manabozho of North America, and why Maui of Tahiti is not first compared with Maui of Tonga or the New Hebrides. The concept of a hypothetical primary version or norm with a primary meaning makes local differences and their immediate cultural background unimportant unless they contain survivals of the norm which time

and circumstances have obscured. For most scholars, Grey's New Zealand Maui cycle constitutes a close approximation of the norm for the Polynesian cycle.

Another type of theory explains similarities in myths of different areas as due to their having been introduced by the same immigrant people, whereas the presence of two different types of a myth in the same culture is explained as the result of the influence of two different ethnic groups in the area. This type of theory suffers the same shortcomings as the evolutionary theory but for different reasons. The diffusionists over-emphasize long range dissemination of myths and under-emphasize local invention, the problem of ultimate origin, and the possibility of independent invention. The evolutionists reverse the situation. Both oversimplify the complexity of factors giving rise to the origin and development of myths, uncritically accept superficial analogies as genuine identities, and are indifferent to local variations and the function of myths in the specific culture in which they are told. These points are reflected in the kind of collections made, the next subject to be considered.

## OTHER EUROPEAN BIOGRAPHERS: THE COLLECTORS

### TYPE OF SOURCE MATERIAL ON MAUI

Source material on Maui consists largely of myths and chants in manuscripts and publications. As the people of Oceania did not have writing in the pre-European era, whatever myths we have reflect either the literature which existed in the memory of those natives who bridged the gap between the primitive and the European periods, or the literature, some of it European influenced, which was developed after the arrival of Europeans. Knowledge of the old lore can only be inferred and reconstructed from myths recorded in European times.

Oceanic natives themselves wrote down many myths in their own language after they had learned to write. They also narrated them to European explorers, missionaries, traders, administrators, tourists, and anthropologists. Europeans or Polynesians have translated the texts either as literally as possible, or summarized, or all too often mutilated, bowdlerized, and subordinated them to theory.

The custom of writing down the inherited lore became quite general among Polynesians, judging from the number of references to native manuscript books, particularly in central Polynesia and New Zealand. The lore was recorded either at the behest of interested Europeans or through native pride in putting into a new medium the family traditions. Some of the traditions were valuable in establishing land claims. All of them contributed to family prestige.

William Ellis of the London Missionary Society has narrated (87, vol. 3, pp. 263-266) how popular the introduced art of writing and the sending of letters became in central Polynesia. Some of the letters, he says, traveled 15,000 miles. A Polynesian seldom made a journey across an island, and scarcely a canoe passed from one island to another, without conveying a number of letters.

Ellis writes:

Writing is an art perfectly congenial with the habits of the people, and hence they have acquired it with uncommon facility; not only have the children readily learned, but many adults, who never took pen or pencil in their hands until they were thirty or even forty years of age, have by patient perseverance learned, in the space of twelve months or two years, to write a fair and legible hand. Their comparatively small alphabet, and the simple structure of their language, has probably been advantageous; their letters are bold and well formed, and their ideas are always expressed with perspicuity, precision, and simplicity.

Because slates and pencils were scarce, some Polynesians learned to write on the beach or on sand in the school; others, according to Ellis, used the broad, smooth leaves of plantain trees for a writing surface and a blunt stick for a pen. The leaves served for brief notes to be communicated a short distance and were usually rolled up like a sheet of parchment and tied with a piece of bark.

Because Polynesians who acquired the art of writing wrote down myths about Maui, as did Europeans, and these records have been studied and copied by many, the problem of comparing recensions has become a major one in research on Polynesian native literature.

While relatively little has been recorded in the way of direct description of the role of Maui in the culture and how people regarded him, much information, either in myths or as supplementary data, has been collected about noted spots linked with his name and career. Collectors have not been too sophisticated to want to see for themselves the mementos of the hero that Polynesians have identified and preserved.

To an anthropologist, these records of localization are important. Localization is one of the processes whereby an alien myth roots itself in its new home and develops new branches. Often, too, landmarks of Maui are concentrated in a certain island of an archipelago or in a particular district of an island. Comparative study sometimes reveals that the myths about him were first introduced into that island or district, which then adopted and made them so characteristically their own that neighbors recognize the district's prior and peculiar claim to the hero and the glory of his adventures.

For example, Gifford observes (118, p. 10), in connection with the bearing of mythology on the internal history of an island, that in the Tongan Archipelago, Maui is localized in the Vavau and Tongatabu groups, but not

in Haapai, where Muni, a hero somewhat like Maui, is eulogized. Koloa in Vavau and Eua in Tongatabu have the greatest claim on Maui, and many landmarks associated with him are pointed out there.

In the Hawaiian Islands, Maui myths are localized at Kailua in Kauai, at Waianae on Oahu, at a cave on the Wailuku River near Hilo, Hawaii, and at Kauiki in eastern Maui, and near Kahakuloa in western Maui (Beckwith, 21, p. 226). In New Zealand, the myths have been especially intensively localized in North Island.

Information about astral relics, unusual landmarks, and mysterious temples, which have been secondarily and often questionably linked with Maui and his exploits furnishes some of the closest approximation to monumental source material associated with the Maui cycle.

### MONUMENTAL SOURCE MATERIAL

Data from art and archaeology, so important as source material in, for example, Greek mythology, are uncommon in regard to Maui. Literal pictorial representation is not native Polynesian. Raymond Firth (99, p. 87) discusses the heroic figures, of which Maui is often one, in modern Maori assembly houses. He observes that "much of the more realistic detail found in meeting-houses of today is purely modern." Formerly the artist carved "conventionalized symbolic tokens of remembrance" on the slabs of the interior walls and did not seek to make lifelike portraits. As the buildings were of wood and therefore perishable, no ancient representations have survived. The art on the existing slabs which portray Maui is recent and shows the influence of European pictorial art.

The effect of European realism in modern portrayals by Polynesians is exemplified in three charts that illustrate the origin and development of the world in terms of Tuamotuan theology (figs 6, 7, 8). These charts show the different layers of the world and the major objects and personages associated with each layer. Maui is definitely portrayed in only one of the charts (fig. 6). However, there has been much debate as to whether or not he or, at least, the famous hook he used to fish up the islands is not present in the other two versions of the chart

After the third of these charts had been discovered and sent to Bishop Museum in 1929, Kenneth P. Emory (91) reviewed the problems surrounding them and brought the research up to date. These three charts depicting the origin and development of the Tuamotuan world are variations of each other, Emory concludes, and have originated from one source. The last chart to be discovered probably represents the oldest of the three (fig. 8).

This last chart is usually called the Caillet chart in honor of X. Caillet, Resident Administrator of the Tuamotus from December 29, 1869, to April 11, 1870. It is thought that perhaps at an earlier period, Caillet received an

account of the creation of the Tuamotuan world and culture from Paiore, high chief of Anaa Island. Arbousset, a Protestant missionary, describes Paiore as a Protestant convert and an educated native who knew the islands well from the standpoint of navigation and was able to use navigation charts. Caillet either made a drawing to illustrate the Tuamotuan cosmogony on the basis of Paiore's information or he copied a drawing that Paiore gave him. Caillet turned over both his material about creation and the drawing to the late Teuira Henry. Bishop Museum later published her collected materials on Tahitian and Tuamotuan traditions. However, since it did not have her

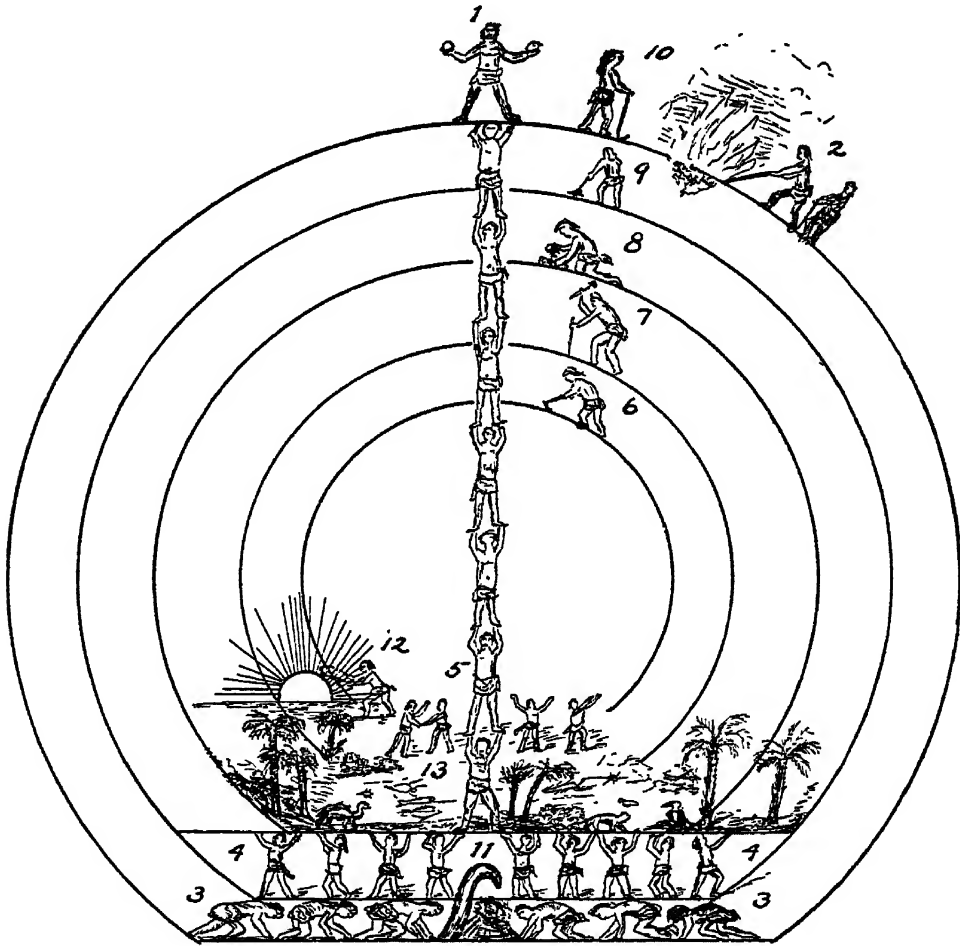


FIGURE 6.—Creation chart after a drawing by Albert Montiton. The following legend is K. P. Emory's translation of Montiton's legend: 1, Tane, with stones, breaks a hole through the firmament, 2, the people of Tane soften the heavens to open up a passage for him; 3, the *ngati* Ru lift the firmament with their backs; 4, they lift it higher, to the height of their arms; 5, mounting one upon the other, they succeed in putting it in place; then, 6, the Pigao till it; 7, the Titi nail it; 8, the Pepe bore into it; 9, the Moho sweep it; 10, Maui, armed with the fishhook with which he fished up Tahiti [see figure 8, *i*]; 11, form of the fishhook [see figure 8, *a*]; 12, Maui on the lookout for [snaring] the sun; 13, the earth producing plants and animals.

Caillet chart to illustrate the Tuamotuan cosmogony, it substituted another chart, one which Paiore had prepared in 1869. When a relative of Miss Henry subsequently discovered the Caillet chart (fig. 8) among her effects, he sent it to the Museum.

The second chart, the Paiore chart of 1869, which the Museum used to illustrate Miss Henry's "Ancient Tahiti," is believed by Emory to be an elaboration of the Caillet chart. (See figure 7.)

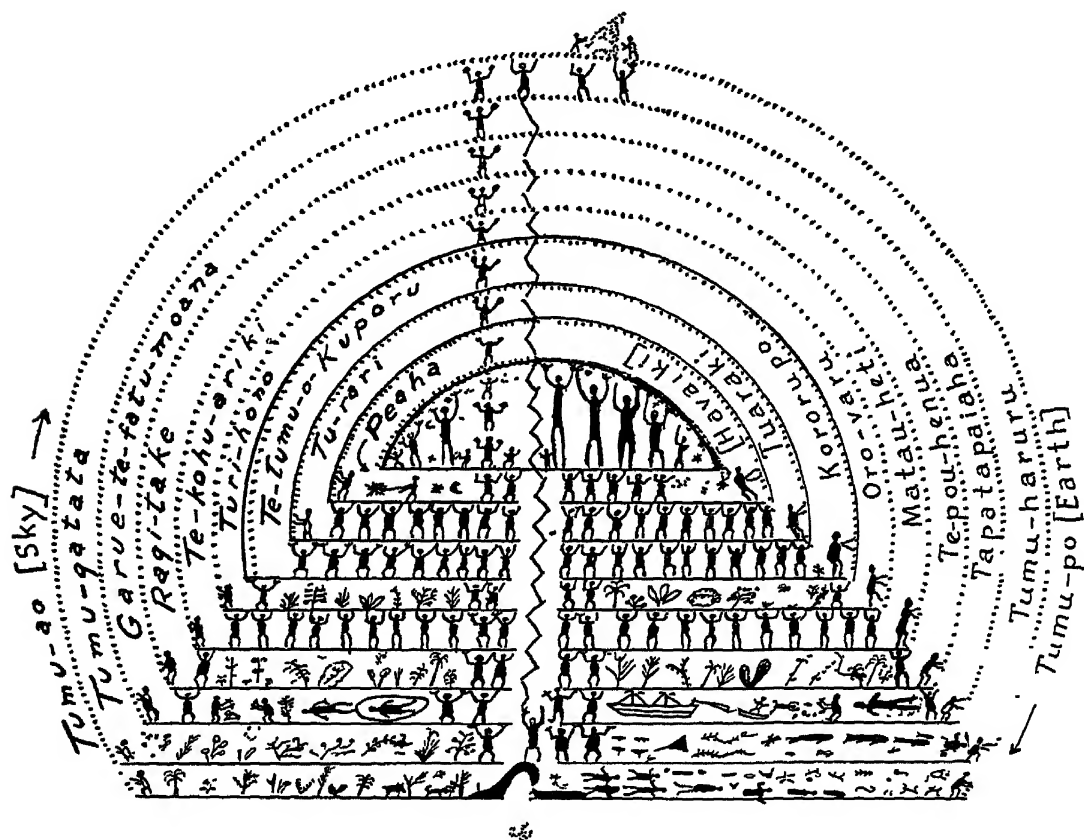


FIGURE 7.—Based on a photograph in Bishop Museum of Paiore's chart dated 1869.

F. W. Christian in his book "Eastern Pacific islands" (55, p. 194) seems to have made up, out of whole cloth, an interpretation of the 1869 chart to fit the popular mythological theories of the time. Christian describes the 1869 chart as follows:

A piece of Rarotongan wood-carving representation representing the tradition of the stealing of fire from the Sun (Ra) by Maui [*sic*], the Polynesian Prometheus. It is probably a rude copy of an ancient hieroglyphical record, either Cushite, Babylonian or Egyptian. Possibly the original was a parchment.

Actually, Maui is nowhere represented in either the Caillet or the Paiore charts.

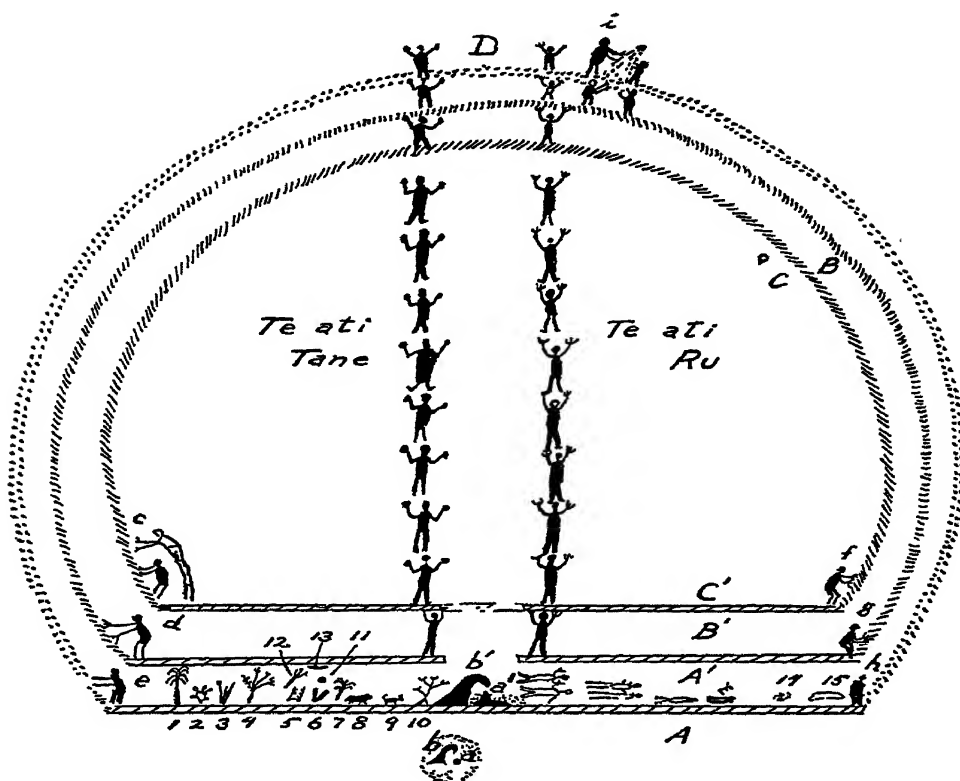


FIGURE 8.—Copy of a drawing in Bishop Museum made by Xavier Caillet from information furnished by Paiore. The following legend is based on that of Caillet (translated by K. P. Emory): For A, B, C, D and A', B', C', the legend is missing. For *a*, Caillet has a pencil note in French, "comme les pierres"; for *a'* or *b'* he has written, "nom de cette pierre" through which he has passed a line, evidently writing the legend elsewhere. From Paiore's text (Henry, 147, p. 347) it is clear that *a* and *b* represent Te Tumu (The Foundation) and Te Papa (The Stratum-rock) enclosed in the first stage of the universe, which was like an egg; and *a'* and *b'* represent Te Tumu and Te Papa remaining on the lowest layer after the bursting of the primal world. *c*, Tania (?); *d*, Tohio (?); *e*, Kana; *f*, Pepe; *g*, Titi-(?)mataitoo; *h*, Pinao [=Pingao]; *i*, Ta[nga]roa-i-te-Po (who, according to Paiore's text, attempted to set fire to the skies but was overcome by the three, Ruanuku, Ru and Tamarua).

1, [ha]ari [coconut]; 2, ava; 3, ofe [bamboo]; 4, mara [mara tree]; 5, varo [kavaro bush]; 6, e houfi [ufi, yam]; 7, mea [banana]; 8, pua'a [pig]; 9, uri [dog]; 10, fara [pandanus]; 11, nono [nono tree]; 12, e toi [tou ? tree]; 13, manu, e kura [a kura bird]; 14, fourmi [ant]; 15, e rori [sea cucumber].

Opposite the left column of figures is written "hommes blancs," with a list of the different aspects of Tane, and opposite the right column "hommes noir" with a list of the different aspects of Ru. Next to each of the figures is written a name (not reproduced here).

The third chart, published in 1874 by Albert Montiton (198, p. 339), a missionary in the Tuamotus, was probably based on one of the earlier charts. Montiton interpreted part of his chart as showing Maui with a fishhook standing near a fire in the highest stratum while at the lowest stratum his fishhook is portrayed in detail. Also included in the chart is a sketch of Maui snaring the sun (fig. 6).

According to Emory, the hooklike object which Montiton and others thought was Maui's famous hook really represents the mythological character, Te Tumū (The Foundation), who with his wife, Te Papa (The Stratum Rock), created man, animals, and plants. The hooklike form representing Te Tumū is the symbol of the male principle in creation. A row of dots under the curving hook symbolizes Te Papa, the female principle in creation. The figure near the fire, whom Montiton identifies as Maui, is established by Emory, on the basis of Paiore's manuscript, to be Tangaroa. In Tuamotuan creation mythology, Tangaroa set fire to the world and was banished to the underworld. Emory believes that Montiton, having obtained a copy of Paiore's chart which had undergone some modifications, asked a Polynesian to explain it. This person was unfamiliar with the identity of some of the figures. That one figure in Montiton's chart actually represents Maui throwing a snare around the sun is uncontested.

Other references to representations of Maui occur only in the literature from New Zealand, the Society Islands, and the Marquesas. Captain Cook, as stated earlier, described a Tahitian effigy of Maui which he saw. The indications by which his Polynesian informant identified it as Maui and not some other mythological figure are unknown.

Von den Steinen (262, p. 501) mentions a Marquesan tortoise-shell fishhook with three figures on it. This hook, Marquesans said, had been used by Maui to fish up land. The figures, one of them Maui himself, are not described. Other fishhooks said to be relics of Maui are common in Oceania, but unlike the Marquesan hook, none bears a picture of him.

#### EVALUATION OF SOURCE MATERIAL

An important task in research on Maui, unexpected in a primitive area to which Europeans were the first to introduce writing, was to check and evaluate the written source material, its provenience, the narrator, and the original recorder. The problems are complicated because Maui stories are amusing adjuncts to every popular travel book on the south seas. They add a piquant touch to serious accounts of island geology, geography, trade, and administration. Every native and European resident seems to know about Maui. The myths are popular favorites in many islands and told without tapus. The themes of the myths, especially that of fishing up land, are so

simple and concrete as to be easily communicated to anyone who knows a few Polynesian words.

If the myths were told by natives, they are primary source material. Myths derived from previous publications and incorporated into scientific or popular works are naturally secondary references.

Elsewhere (Luomala, 173) I have described some of the vicissitudes suffered by original data about Maui in manuscripts or publications upon being copied, partially or completely, by Europeans or Polynesians, translated from whatever language they are in, edited, published, the copies recopied, and the published copies recopied, retranslated, and republished. The chain is endless. So is the number of errors which has arisen. The source of the repeated material is too rarely acknowledged. The earliest data do not always identify the original source, for the information may have been copied from a manuscript not published till later or lying unpublished in some family or missionary archive.

This was the case as regards the Laval manuscript on Mangarevan ethnography and legendary history. In 1938, the Congregation of the Sacred Heart with the assistance of the Bishop Museum published the original manuscript which Father Laval had started in 1856 (161). The Mangarevan informant with whom Laval worked on the manuscript later wrote up the results of his collaboration with the priest. Other native Mangarevans made copies of a copy, some of which found their way into print.

Investigation often shows that slightly varying versions of a myth are really from one original source. The variations are due to errors in copying. Without checking, one mistakenly might assume, especially if little mythology has been collected on an island, that the myth is very important and stable to have been collected there so often. Variants from different islands are sometimes synthesized by the collector into one general version. Difficulties arise when a collector synthesizes new material with data which he or another has already published.

The earliest records are not always the best although collected at a time when native life was less altered by Europeans than now. The records exemplify the kinds of misunderstandings of native culture arising from ignorance of the language and all the difficulties of pioneer discovery and observation. Collectors themselves were fully aware of the shortcomings of their reports. Anderson, in the chapter on Society Archipelago culture which he contributed to Captain Cook's journal (66, vol 2, p. 184), feelingly regrets that he cannot adequately describe the complex culture with its involved and beautiful mythological system. By the time trained anthropologists arrived on the scene, native culture had broken down. The task then was to collate what information could be gained from field work with early records, manuscripts, and museum specimens.

The tasks of isolating the original sources and provenience of a myth and of determining the degree of reliability of the sources have often ended in failure, undoubtedly more frequently than realized, and with the compounding of error. However, the occasional successful unraveling of a knotted chain of references has sometimes revealed that certain aberrant variants, much used in the support of theories about the origin, history, and beliefs of the Polynesians, do not represent native innovations but are the result of garbling or mistranslating a primary reference (Luomala, 173).

.In combing Oceanic literature for references to Maui, I have attempted to sift primary from secondary references. The pages to follow are a summary of that task. No effort was made elsewhere in this study to cite every possible secondary reference along with its source, as was done in the earlier study of the myth of snaring the sun (Luomala, 171). Many collectors have published the same myths first in articles, later in books. Prominent examples are mentioned in this section.

Information about the narrator is necessary to determine, among other things, the provenience of the mythology he communicates to a collector. A Maui myth told by a native missionary from Samoa working in Niue may represent either a Niuean or Samoan version of the myth, or a combination. The common language and culture of Polynesia have undoubtedly been powerful agents for centuries in diffusing myths and leveling differences between them. Increased travel in European times intensified these processes.

As the study of the distribution of culture traits is one means of reconstructing the history of a primitive people, it is important to allow for known contacts between islands since the advent of Europeans. Identical versions of a myth from New Zealand and Niue do not necessarily furnish evidence of direct, prehistoric contact between the two islands. For example, a myth recorded in Niue about raising the sky (Thomson, 279, p. 139) is so like Grey's Maori version as to seem an obvious paraphrase. That the myth was introduced into Niue in the nineteenth century, is likely. New Zealand administers the government of Niue, and some distinguished scholars of Polynesian ethnography have been governors. Furthermore, Grey's collection of Maori mythology is a classic work of much popularity. It undoubtedly has been read by many Polynesians and Europeans.

Comparative analysis can infer answers to questions implicit in these situations. What is significant to note here is that these questions exist. Without accessory knowledge to the myths one would not be aware of them. The situations presented from Niue are paralleled throughout Oceania from the Tuamotus to the New Hebrides.

Polynesian youths gathered from distant islands to attend the Christian mission schools, returning to their homes as missionaries or traveling on to

distant islands, even to New Guinea, to spread the gospel. Small wonder then that many of Ker's Papuan tales (155) seem so Polynesian in style and plot. Communication of myths between native pastors and their flocks was not one-sided. W. W. Gill, George Turner, and other early missionaries obtained much ethnographic information from their native students and colleagues who reported on the customs and mythology of their home islands and of those they had visited. Simeona, the Aitutakian who went to the western Pacific as a missionary, I mentioned in an earlier section. From him, Gill obtained information on the ethnography of these western islands which he used in some of his books.

Native and European members of ships' crews inevitably picked up stories and retold them. Cooper (68) narrates Polynesian myths, some about Maui, which he heard a European sailor tell in Samoa jazzed into yarns and tall tales in the current European slang. European folklore and myths also circulated throughout Polynesia. Sunday School and church publications, as well as secular books and newspapers published in Polynesia, spread both Polynesian and European mythology.

Few Polynesian versions of these European tales have been collected, as collectors have tried to gather the older myths. Gifford, however (118), has published several which illustrate how Polynesians have adapted the tales to their own literary style and mythological pattern. Bible stories are also adapted by Polynesians. Already mentioned is the assimilation of Maui myths to Biblical traditions and *vice versa*. As the determination and analysis of European influence on Polynesian mythology can teach us much about how new material is integrated into the culture, no myth which is a native synthesis of Polynesian and European elements should be excluded from collections or comparative research.

Another situation which illustrates the importance of knowing something of the narrator is exemplified by the Rarotongan Maui cycle. Only one version of the cycle has been recorded from Rarotonga. From this version, the presence of certain themes and incidents in the island can be determined. This is vital information, but so is the supplementary information of the collector that the cycle was the family version of a certain chief and that some of the chants in it were invented especially for a chief. Other Rarotongan variants might show considerable difference from this particular family's version. Had we these other versions, an interesting study could be made of the influence of a social class, or one family, or one individual on the Rarotongan Maui cycle.

## COLLECTORS IN EACH ARCHIPELAGO

## SOCIETY ISLANDS

In the Society Archipelago, myths and references to Maui have been definitely recorded only from Tahiti, Borabora, Raiatea, and Moorea. However, he undoubtedly was known in every inhabited island of the group. Collectors often give the Society Islands as the generic provenience instead of naming the particular island in which they heard a myth. Variants cited as Tahitian may not actually come from Tahiti. The term Tahiti was and still is used occasionally as a casual, general designation for the entire archipelago.

Myths about Maui which the Society Islands share with other islands concern the hero's birth as an abortion, his recognition by his mother, his exploits of raising the sky, conquering Tuna the eel, snaring the sun, and fishing up land. References to Maui as a prophet and builder of temples have been recorded from the Society Islands, the Tuamotus, and the Australs. The widely spread myth about Maui's visit to the underworld to steal fire has not been reported from the Society Islands. Neither has the myth about how he transformed his brother-in-law into a dog or the myth about his rescuing his wife from a giant bat. All three myths occur, however, in the nearby Tuamotus and other eastern Polynesian islands. It is hard to believe that they were not known anywhere in the Society Islands. It is more likely that fairly recent revisions of the Maui cycle in the Society Islands omitted them, and that insufficient collecting among other than the priestly class accounts for their absence in the records. The theme of snaring the sun has assumed particular importance in the Society Islands for reasons discussed earlier. As many as 11 variants have been reported (Luomala, 171), whereas only one or two variants of myths based on other themes have been collected in this archipelago.

## ORSMOND AND HENRY

First to be discussed in this survey of Society Island sources on Maui is John Muggridge Orsmond's collection of chants and lore. While not the earliest, Orsmond's material is the most complete and important source on Society Islands religion and mythology.

Orsmond's contemporaries and colleagues in the London Missionary Society, William Ellis (87, vol. 1, p. iv), for instance, recognized his knowledge and drew on him for information. As a source on Maui, Ellis himself is unimportant. He has a myth of Maui, the marae builder, snaring the sun (87, vol. 3, pp. 170-171) and a prophecy by a priest named Maui (87, vol. 1, pp. 382-385). Both are given more fully by Orsmond.

Orsmond's finished manuscript was copied more than once, judging from the statement of De Quatrefages, who, after access to the manuscript, wrote

that he had seen another in different handwriting with information evidently derived from Orsmond (Henry, 147, p. vii).

Orsmond was originally a missionary of the London Missionary Society like many other early authorities on Polynesia (Henry, 147, pp. i-viii). He lived in the Society Islands from 1817 until his death in 1856. He began studying the language on his journey from England and is said to have acquired complete mastery soon after his arrival. After 30 years of assembling texts, translations, explanatory notes, and information from native scholars, he presented his finished manuscript to the French Republic, of which he had become a licensed government preacher after France established a protectorate over Tahiti. The manuscript was lost, but his scholarly granddaughter, Teuira Henry, partially restored his work by assembling data from his personal notes and original manuscripts, annotating and supplementing them with her own research. Bishop Museum published her monumental work, "Ancient Tahiti," in 1928.

Inaccessibility of Miss Henry's original notes and her particular presentation of texts do not always permit utilizing her valuable material as much as one should like, to determine, for example, the influence of individuals upon the mythology, and intra-archipelago differences in mythological concepts and style.

The lore about Maui illustrates this point. The myths about his birth and exploits of raising the sky and snaring the sun are included in a series of texts forming part of the cosmogony (Henry, 147, pp. 336-468), discussed earlier as an example of the creative reinterpretation of the hero's character and feats.

Orsmond procured the texts at different times from different high priests and chiefs of various islands in the archipelago. Tamera and Patii, high priests of Tahiti and Moorea respectively, narrated the myths of Maui's origin and the raising of the sky. Parts of the myth were obtained at different times—1825, 1833, and 1834.

The sun-snaring myth was recited in 1825 by Hotu, Pufaramotu, and Moo, priests of Borabora, and in 1885 by Tataura and his grandson, chieftains of Motutapu, Raiatea. In 1901, Miss Henry procured an addition to the myth in Honolulu from Mrs. Nuu Hills, a native of Tahiti. The sequence of the texts in the cosmogony was determined by Miss Henry and the Museum.

These texts are among the very few on Maui from anywhere in Oceania with any information at all on the date of collection, the narrator, his social class, and provenience. It is perhaps caviling then to state how impossible it is to tell whether the published text was given by one scholar and chosen as representative of the texts of the others, or whether it was a synthesis made by leveling differences in the texts of several native scholars. This problem arises in connection with each of the texts.

Besides the texts and translations mentioned above, Miss Henry has other data on Maui. They include two Tahitian variants of Maui's rescue of Hina from an eel, and a Tuamotuan account of Maui's career. She has also a few comparative notes (147, pp. 465-468) on the Maui cycle of other Polynesian islands as recorded in the collections of Grey, White, and Tregear. Her Hawaiian comparative notes, for which no source is given, were presumably obtained during her sojourn in Honolulu.

Henry's "Ancient Tahiti" has every Maui motif known from the Society Islands. It has, as far as I know, the only recorded Society variants of myths based on the themes of Maui's birth as an abortion, the recognition by his mother, and his conquest of Tuna, the eel.

#### MOERENHOUT

In another paper (173) I discussed the misunderstandings arising from the peculiar orthography and free translations of the only native text that Moerenhout, a Belgian trader and at different times consul for France and America in Tahiti, gives of a Maui myth, a Tahitian version of earth-fishing (196, vol. 1, pp. 449-450). The text is important. It is the only evidence that the Society Islanders had not entirely abandoned during their reinterpretation of the mythology the ancient myth of Maui fishing up land. Except for those given by Henry, other Tahitian versions of the earth-fishing theme with Maui as a hero are derived from Moerenhout's version.

Moerenhout's erroneous identification (196, vol. 1, p. 446) of Maooe, the word for east wind, with Maui (which he spells Mahoui) frequently appears in theories of astronomical mythologists.

#### MARE

Mare, a native Tahitian genealogist and orator, has contributed two texts about Maui snaring the sun (Luomala, 171). Translations appeared in France and were later reprinted by La Société des Études Océaniques, which has published in its bulletins many other eastern Polynesian myths, including extracts from Orsmond's manuscripts. Mare also has two versions of how Maui helped raise the sky to its present heights.

#### COOK AND HIS CREWS

Next to be considered are the Society Islands references to Maui in the earliest published records about him, the journals of Captain Cook and members of his crews. Cook's and Hawkesworth's descriptions of an image of Maui, quoted earlier, contribute trustworthy information on the hero. The references of the rest of Cook's crews to Maui are shown by comparison with

Orsmond's superior records to be misunderstandings arising from insufficient knowledge of the native language and not to concern Maui at all. Yet many European scholars from the time of Schirren to Williamson have used these references to support their theories about Maui.

Tupia, who identified the image Cook saw of Maui, was a native priest and chief who joined the crew. Hawkesworth's description (146, vol. 2, p. 165), based on Cook's material, coincides in the main with that of Cook (Wharton, 304, p. 83), but he adds that the natives called the horns on the image *Tate Ete* (*ta'ata iti*), little men. First he says the image was called Manioe; then he states that later he learned it was a representation of Māui. Manioe remains unidentified.

Unfortunately, none of the "absurd stories" that Tupia told Cook about Maui was recorded. Later collections have confirmed Cook's description of the Tahitian Maui as a many-headed giant, though the number of heads ascribed to him varies. Curiously enough, Orsmond's text (147, p. 408), although repeatedly calling the hero a man with eight heads, describes only seven heads, "one great head erect, and six small heads around it from the neck." As stated earlier, Cook's opinion that Maui was not worshiped is confirmed by other information. Tupia's statement that Maui was one of the secondary Tahitian gods has also been corroborated.

Little corroboration exists for the accounts of the Tahitian Maui in the journals of other members of Cook's crews. Apparently a small amount of information was obtained on religion and mythology, and each diarist recorded his understanding of it. Journals of the second voyage eked out their data with notes from diaries of the first voyage.

When the *Endeavour*, Cook's ship on his first voyage, returned to England, an unknown member of the crew published his diary, the so-called Beckett journal, before Cook's account appeared. The unknown author states (7, pp. 48-49):

They believe the existence of one supreme God, whom they call Maw-we, but acknowledge an infinite number of inferior deities generated from him, and who preside over particular parts of creation. *Maw-we* is the being who shakes the earth, or the god of earthquakes. They have however no religious establishments, or mode of divine worship; neither the dictates of nature or of reason having suggested to them the expediency or propriety of paying external adoration to the deity; on the contrary, they think him too far elevated above his creatures to be affected by their actions. Though these people have no particular mode of divine worship, we frequently observed that in eating they cut a small piece of their food and deposited in some retired place as an offering to Maw-we.

Such was his dismissal of the highly complex religious system of the Society Islands. Another anonymous account (8, p. 116) about Maui as an earthquake god who received a sacrifice of a little food at each meal is obviously derived from the above-mentioned account.

J. R. Forster and his son, George, who accompanied Cook in the *Resolution* on his second voyage (1772-1775), were given information by the same *ta'ata 'orero*, orator or teacher. J. R. Forster states (106, pp. 540-542):

The great God *Taroa-feai-etoómoo* lives in the sun, and is represented as a man, who has fine hair, reaching down to the very ground; he is thought to be the cause of the earthquakes, in which case the natives call him O-Maoúwe, and he is likewise the creator of the sun; a rude representation of this deity, under the attribute of O-Maoúwe, was observed by Captain Cook, in 1769, when he made the tour of Taheitee in a boat: it was formed of basket-work, and covered with black and white feathers. This is the only instance of a figure or representation of their divinities which I ever heard of; and Capt. Cook does not mention that any respect or reverence was paid to this rude figure of *Maoúwe*. The natives have a tradition that the great Deity procreated the inferior divinities, each of whom created the part of the world allotted to his peculiar care: one the seas, another moon, the stars, the birds, fishes, etc. etc. O-Maoúwe created the sun, and then took the immense rock O-te-Pápa, his wife, and dragged her from West to East through the seas: when the isles, which the natives now inhabit, were broken off; after which he left this great land to the East, where it still exists.

He adds (106, pp. 553, 564) that the dead of high rank met in the sun to feast and attend on Maui. According to George Forster (105, vol. 2, p. 151), it was Tootoomohororiree who was beautiful, had hair to his feet and lived in the sun where the dead went to feast and attend him. J. R. Forster, it will be noted, divides these characteristics between Maui and Tangaroa. He contradicts himself later (106, p. 551) in stating that it was Tangaroa, not Maui, who dragged his wife, Te Papa, through the sea, and created many divinities. The two Forsters agree that Maui created the sun, and shook the earth to cause earthquakes when he was angry. Both state (105, 106) that the native expressed this in a phrase, "O-Maoowe Toorore te Whenooa (i.e., Maoowe shakes the earth) "

As extremely ambiguous and conflicting as J. R. Forster's statements are, he obviously identifies Maui with Tangaroa. To him Maui is the name for Tangaroa when he functions as an earthquake god. It is unlikely that he heard two versions of the myth about dragging Te Papa through the seas with Maui as the husband in one, Tangaroa in the other. No other writer has ever given Te Papa as Maui's wife. Even the other diarists on Cook's voyages name her the wife of Tangaroa or of Tangaroa's created agent, Te Tumu. And she so appears in the texts of Orsmond and other later collectors. J. R. Forster's conflicting statements evidently result from his interpretation that Maui and Tangaroa are the same and that the names can be used synonymously and interchangeably.

Only the Forsters name Maui as the creator of the sun. Tangaroa, however, is the great creator in the Society Islands; Maui is only a demi-god and transformer of the creator's work. He regulates the speed of the sun and helps raise the heavens, but it is Tangaroa who originally created sun and sky.

Despite all theoretical discussion of Maui as a sun god, nowhere in Polynesia, with one minor exception (Polack, 211, vol. 1, p. 16), is he the origin of the sun. The statement of the Forsters is so utterly at variance with the rest of the Society Islands collections of mythology and with myths of other islands that no reliance can be placed upon it.

Only the Beckett journal and the Forsters name Maui as the earthquake god of the Society Islands. Reference to such a function of Maui is absent from eastern Polynesian myths about the demi-god. In western Polynesia, Tongans call Maui an earthquake god, whereas Samoans and Futunans accuse Mahuika, the fire god, of shaking the earth. Tonga lacks Mahuika who has been replaced as fire god by Maui-motua (Maui-the-elder), the heroic Maui's grandfather. This explains the Tongan association of earthquakes with the name of Maui. No reference to any earthquake god occurs in Society Islands literature, except that written by Cook and members of his party.

According to Cook and Hawkesworth (146, vol. 2, p. 238), Taroataihe-toomoo, who is the same as Forster's Taroa-teai-ctoomoo, caused earthquakes in the Society Islands. Kenneth Emory informs me that Taroa-taihe-toomoo might be either Taaroa-taahi-te-tumu (Henry, 147, p. 336), meaning Taaroa-treader-of-the-foundation, or Taaroa-tahi-te-tumu (Taaroa-the-single-foundation). The first form, he thinks, is more likely the correct one. The second usually appears as Taaroa-nui-tahi-te-tumu (Taaroa-the-great-the-single-foundation).

A famous act of the Tahitian Tangaroa, who shakes his newly made earth to see if it is firm, throws light on the possible origin of the misunderstanding—as I believe it may be—in these early journals. Orsmond's Borabora and Raiatea text (Henry, 147, p. 341) describes Tangaroa's act as follows:

A oriori Ta'aroa i te iho o te fenua.  
Ueue ihora o Ta'aroa i te fenua, e aita  
i 'aueue a'e.

Then Tangaroa molded the substance of  
the land, and he shook it, and it yielded  
not.

Earlier in Orsmond's text, Tangaroa is described as angrily overturning the shell which surrounds him to form the dome of the sky. Mare's manuscript (Emory, 90, p. 55) also describes the testing of the land to make sure it is stable:

Ua fa'aueue iho ra Ta'aroa i te fenua.  
'Aore atu ra i 'aueue.

Tangaroa now shook the land.  
It would not move.'

It seems to me that Tangaroa's overturning his shell and testing his land for firmness led to the emphasis in the early journals on Tangaroa as an earthquake god. The similarity of the name Maui to the various forms of the verb "to shake" (*ueue*, *'aueue*, *ui*, and so forth) suggests that the diarists may have believed their informant to be talking about Maui as an earth-shaker, especially if the narration was accompanied by a pantomime of shaking

the earth and a repetition of the native expression for shaking. On the other hand, there is the theoretical possibility that the Forsters' quotation of a native statement, "Maoowe shakes the earth," may represent a local Tahitian variant which provides a link between the central and the western Polynesian beliefs about Maui as a being associated with earthquakes.

#### OTHER COLLECTORS

Forster's statement that Maui was another name for Tangaroa is used by Horatio Hale to support his hypothesis that the Polynesians originally had but one deity who, however, had several names describing his attributes and offices. As creator of the world, this god was termed Tangaroa. As "the sustainer of the earth" he was called Maui. In the form in which he revealed himself to man, he was Tiki. The meaning and application of these names had become confused and altered during the course of time, Hale declares (141, p. 24).

Hale's data on Maui in Tonga, Hawaii, and New Zealand are traceable to earlier collectors. He is not a primary source on Maui, though often quoted as if he were. Schirren (233, pp. 38, 68) cites both Forster and Hale to prove that Tangaroa and Maui were identical. Williamson (309, vol. 1, pp. 114-116, 366-367; vol. 2, pp. 164-214) also quotes the Forsters in support of his Maui theories. Many other scholars of the Maui problem cite both Hale's data and those of the Forsters.

In the realm of modern theory on Maui in Society Islands culture, Handy (145, pp. 13, 67), who did anthropological research in the archipelago, assigns Maui to what he calls the "old Tahitian" or "pre-Ariki" stage of culture, characterized by an agricultural population of a physical type different from the later sea-faring immigrants whom he believes conquered them.

#### CONCLUSION

In summary, information on Maui in the Society Islands must be obtained almost exclusively from chants recorded by Orsmond from priests throughout the group. No supplementary data as to Maui's place in ritual and daily life accompany the chants. The chants represent versions of the myths from one social class only, the priests. How different popular variants might be is suggested by Baessler's Society Islands version of how Maui trapped the sun (13), which was mentioned earlier in this study.

The incomplete information about Maui in this archipelago is regrettable. The group, as a whole, but particularly Raiatea, was to neighboring islands a religious and intellectual Mecca, the center of cultural developments, and the homeland, the Hawaiki, from which great migratory expeditions set out for the south in the fourteenth century.

## TUAMOTUS

Many Maui myths, united into cycles or told as disconnected stories, have been recorded in several Tuamotuan islands. Anaa, Fangatau, perhaps Tatakoto, Vahitahi, Hikueru, Amanu, Hao, Napuka, Faaiti, Makemo, Fakahina, and Rangiroa definitely know about the hero. Some Tuamotuan Maui myths are known in only one island. The Tuamotus share with other archipelagoes myths about the remarkable origin of the demi-god, but not as an abortion; the recognition by his parents; the snaring of the sun; earth-fishing; sky-raising; the conquests of the fire god Mahuika, and of Tuna and Peka; the creation of the first dog; and the final unsuccessful attempt to achieve immortality.

The Bishop Museum Tuamotuan Expeditions of 1929-1931 and 1934 obtained good versions of the cycle. Paea narrated the Anaa version which was translated by J. F. Stimson (265). The Fangatau Island cycle which Stimson also translated (264) came from Fariua-a-Makitua, the former chief of Fangatau, who is of mixed Fangatau and Rekareka ancestry. He had been taught by Kamake of Fangatau, "perhaps the greatest of all the Tuamotuan sages." Emory has translated but not published the Vahitahi cycle about Maui as a sun-snarer, visitor to the underworld, transformer of Ri into a dog, and earth-fisher. This cycle was narrated by a woman named Ruea. He has also assembled and translated for me scattered references to Maui in chants and myths in other manuscripts of the Tuamotuan Expedition.

The remaining Maui lore from the Tuamotus is fragmentary. Henry (147) presents a cycle from a Tuamotuan, Taroi-nui, who may be the Rangiroan chief and sage of the same name who was *conseiller suppliant* at Rangiroa Island from 1885 to 1891 (Emory, 92, p. 89). Seurat, a former French official in central Polynesia, published one or two disconnected myths about Maui from Amanu Island. He also has references to Maui as one of a band which helped raise the sky to its present heights (235). Caillot has myths principally from Hao and Makemo Islands (49, 50, 51, 52). Audran refers to Maui in Fakahina, Faaiti, and Napuka Islands (10, vol. 27, p. 134; vol. 28, p. 164).

Sources and secondary citations of Tuamotuan earth-fishing myths have been discussed in another article (Luomala, 173). Particularly mentioned is a version from Anaa which Paiore, a high chief and regent of the Tuamotus, narrated presumably to Caillet (48), resident administrator of the archipelago at one time. Somewhat similar material has been given by Cuzent (75; 76, p. 51) and Caillot (49).

Albert Montiton, Sacred Heart missionary in the Tuamotus for more than 20 years during the mid-nineteenth century, has an essay (198) based on mythology which he gathered principally from Anaa, Tatakoto, and Fangatau.

The value of his Maui notes is somewhat diminished because he unfortunately gives no information about his informants or the specific island provenience of the Maui lore which he has synthesized and compared with Biblical motifs (Luomala, 173).

#### MARQUESAS

From Tahuata, Hivaoa, and Nukuhiva Islands come several variants of myths based on the recurrent themes of fishing up land, snaring the sun, stealing fire from the underworld, and the conflict between Maui and Tuna over Hina and also between Maui and a character corresponding to the Tuamotuan Peka and the Hawaiian Peapea.

Marquesan records about the demi-god are slight and scattered. Lawson (164, vol. 29, pp. 219-220), Christian (54, pp. 188-189), Lesson (166), Stewart (263), and Radiguet (218, pp. 223-224) have bits of information. Clavel (58) quotes with acknowledgment from Radiguet, while Stewart is similarly quoted by Vincendon-Dumoulin and Desgraz (297). Cuzent (76) quotes apparently from Gracias-Mathias (1843) but gives neither source nor provenience. In more recent years, Elbert has collected Marquesan Maui myths and chants (85), and Handy (144, pp. 12-18, 103) has myths of sun-snaring, fire-stealing, earth-fishing, and the abduction of Maui's wife, obtained either from native informants or from manuscripts in the Catholic Mission collection.

In 1837, Moerenhout published an account of his travels in central Polynesia and the Marquesas. In it he weaves interpretation with ethnological observation. Moerenhout doubts (196, vol. 1, pp. 559-562) that Polynesian mythological characters were originally deified chiefs. He maintains that the myths were vague and confused relics of sublime, ancient traditions about Tangaroa, whom he regards as being the supreme sky god and creator of the world in Polynesian theology. Tangaroa, Moerenhout declares, created the inferior deities, one of them Mahoui (Maui), to represent him as agents and attributes of his various functions. These gods, according to Moerenhout, were emblems of natural phenomena, such as the different natural elements, the stars, and particularly the sun. Moerenhout considers Maui to be the sun and thinks that the common people had forgotten the solar significance of myths about him. Maui fixed the position of the world, directed the course of the sun, and otherwise completed the creative work begun by Tangaroa.

To a certain group of priests in the Society Islands, Tangaroa was indeed the supreme creator and god who formed the world and the pantheon, and sought to create harmony among the different parts of the universe. However, what confusion exists does not appear to result from the antiquity of the concept, as Moerenhout believes. Instead, inconsistency is due, as has been discussed earlier, to the fact that Tangaroa's elevation to such a high

position was so recent that the priests had not completely reinterpreted the mythology in which Tangaroa had been but one of many gods.

Moerenhout states (196, vol. 1, p. 502) that the Marquesans had an Arioi cult which in October celebrated the return of Maui, whom they identified with the sun ("... pour célébrer le retour de Mahoui, qui, là, n'est, certainement, que le soleil"). In December, the Arioi presented Maui with the first fruits of the harvest. These statements have been much quoted as proof that Polynesians worshiped the sun, identified Maui with the sun, and consequently worshiped Maui.

However, several of Moerenhout's statements clearly show (196, vol. 1, pp. 484, 502, 515, 561) the identification of Maui with the sun to be his own interpretation and not native testimony. Yet by reference to Moerenhout, Waitz (298, p. 261) supports his contention that Maui was a sun god, and Rivers (227) finds suggestions of a sun cult in Polynesia. Rivers, following Moerenhout, also thinks that Oro, god of the Tahitian Arioi cult, was a sun god, and that the original purpose of the Tahitian Arioi was the celebration of the sun, the source of fertility, abundance, and the four seasons of the year. Rivers uses Moerenhout's theory as evidence to extend his Oceanic distribution of sun cults, which were introduced, he believes, from a single center by an immigrant culture. Moerenhout states (196, vol. 1, p. 484), for example, that the Arioi Society appeared to be, in the Society Islands, an initiation into the mysteries of the god Oro, and in the Marquesas, of Maui. He believes that both represented the sun.

Since it was Moerenhout, not the Marquesans, who identified the sun with Maui, there is no native testimony, after all, that the feast said to be in Maui's honor celebrated the sun. Nor is anything to be found in Marquesan myths or religion that I know of to confirm the existence of such a feast for Maui. Psychologically, Maui, the non-conformist, would be an eminently suitable divinity for the Arioi to rally around. It is deeply regrettable that Moerenhout did not give a more detailed and objective account.

There may have been no formal Arioi cult at all in the Marquesas. According to Handy (142, p. 40) the *ka'ioi* (Marquesan for *aroi*) were adolescent libertines who acted as dancers, story-tellers, buffoons, and entertainers in the secular and sacred festivals which Marquesans held in seasons of plenty when there was enough food to feed a large assemblage of people. No honor was paid the libertines. While they were a more definitely organized institution in the northern than in the southern Marquesas, Handy maintains that nowhere were they united into a society comparable to the Tahitian Arioi.

Moerenhout's statement (196, vol. 1, p. 110) that the Mangarevans listed Tangaroa, Oro, and Maui as their principal gods and celebrated their equinoctial feasts in October and April is dismissed by Buck (275, p. 426) as an

"excellent example of what little reliance can be placed on some of the early writings."

#### COOK ISLANDS, MANIHIKI, AND RAKAHANGA

Maui raised the sky, snared the sun, fished up land, and stole fire for mankind, according to Cook Islanders and natives of Manihiki and Rakahanga.

Most Rarotongan data on Maui were discussed earlier. The only reference to Maui in Aitutaki appears in Simeona's sermon, quoted earlier (p. 15), about Maui plucking off seven of his eight heads to climb up to the sunshine of the earth. Mangaian myths about the demi-god appeared in Gill's "Myths and songs" for which Max Müller wrote the preface. W. W. Gill of the London Missionary Society is first in the ranks of collectors of myths in the Cook Islands. He is the only early source for Maui in Mangaia and almost the only source for Manihiki and Rakahanga (122, 125, 126). George Turner (293, pp. 278-280), also of the London Missionary Society, has a brief Manihikian version of earth-fishing and sky-raising, probably procured from a native student. Smith (253) gives a Rakahanga fire myth.

In the "Ethnology of Manihiki and Rakahanga," Buck (273, pp. 14-20, 21, 198, 203, 205) compares and discusses previously published data on Maui in connection with myths and information obtained during field work in 1929. His informant, Tupou-rahi, then Sergeant of Police at Rakahanga, had written a manuscript which included Maui myths. The ethnography and myths of the two islands are so similar that they are usually discussed as a unit. Buck's monograph on "Mangaian society" (274) also contains notes on Maui.

#### AUSTRAL ISLANDS AND RAPA

Little information on Maui has been collected in the Austral Islands and Rapa. Robert Aitken obtained some notes on Maui in Tubuai Island which were published in his "Ethnology of Tubuai" (5, pp. 5, 103). J. F. G. Stokes' "Ethnology of Raivavae, with notes on Rurutu" is still in manuscript at Bishop Museum, but some of his Maui notes have been printed. For example, Aitken (5) quotes Stokes; and Buck, in "Vikings of the sunrise" (41), presents Stokes' Raivavae version of how Maui snared the sun and got fire for mankind. Caillot (52) has a few brief statements on Maui in Rapa.

#### PUKAPUKA

Pukapukan data on Maui, consisting of disconnected myths, are to be found in Bishop Museum publications and manuscripts of Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, anthropologists who worked in Pukapuka in 1934-1935 (17, 18). Recurrent Maui motifs in Pukapuka are those of fishing up land and the

origin of fire. In an earlier section on Maui and the gamesters, as well as in the section on the relics of Maui, several incidents which Pukapukans share with other islands have been cited.

#### HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

Because of their contempt for the native lore which they regarded as puerile and worthless tales of heathens, early writers on the Hawaiian Islands refer but briefly to the heroic Maui. Their information is as repetitious as if drawn from the same source. Among the early minor sources of data on the hero in the Hawaiian Archipelago are Dibble (79, p. 19), Hale (141, p. 23), Jarves (152), Malo (187), Remy (225), and the duo of Tyerman and Bennet (Montgomery, 197, vol. 1, p. 433).

About the mid-nineteenth century, complete myths began to appear in *Ke Au Okoa*, a newspaper for readers of the Hawaiian language. The Hawaiian historian, S. M. Kamakau, contributed tales about Maui which the Oahuans told and Puaaloa submitted versions from Maui, the island bearing the hero's name. Also active among the collectors of myths about the trickster were Dickey on Kauai Island, Thrum on Oahu, and Forbes, and the students of the Lahainaluna High School on the island of Maui. N. B. Emerson has several references to Maui in his volumes.

These early versions have been reprinted many times in book form as well as in secular and religious magazines. Outstanding among those Hawaiian residents who both collected and brought the Maui myths as well as the rest of the native literature before the general public were Fornander, Thrum, and Westervelt.

Westervelt, in his popular compilation, "Ma-ui—a demi-god . . .," published in Honolulu in 1910 (302) and also in an undated Australasian Edition (301) with a foreword by S. Percy Smith, retold not only Hawaiian versions of Maui's adventures but those published from islands outside Hawaii. The compilation is not a primary source, except for one or two of the Hawaiian variants. It is occasionally unreliable as to the correct provenience of the versions from beyond the Hawaiian Islands.

In his preface, Westervelt follows the theories of Smith and Fornander, emphasizing in particular the "remarkable antiquity" of the Maui legends. He states that while it is impossible to give any definite historical date there is scarcely any question that the myths originated among ancestors of the Polynesians before they scattered over the Pacific Ocean. Regarding the tales as belonging to the prehistoric Polynesians, Westervelt wonders if they were acquired by the people during their sojourn in India before they migrated through the Straits of Sunda. He assumes that these stories took firm root in the memories of the priests who transmitted them from gener-

ation to generation and that this occurred before the Polynesians were driven from the Asiatic coasts by Malays.

To Westervelt, the Maui cycle contains a larger number of unique and ancient myths than that of any other cycle about a mythological character. He disparagingly compares Hercules with Maui. The hero's admirers have always been ready to match his accomplishments with anyone on earth, and perhaps that is why the myths have endured so long, spread so far, and become so numerous.

While Fornander seems to have obtained only an occasional legend about Maui during his years of collecting the oral literature of the Hawaiian Islands, he is a leader among those who have preserved the mythology of the people. Assisted by three or four native Hawaiians, he recorded the myths, genealogies, and chants of the archipelago. Edited by Thomas Thrum (1916–1919), his voluminous collections together with comparative notes on other islands were published by Bishop Museum (104).

During the past century, Fornander and S. Percy Smith of New Zealand were the outstanding residents of Polynesia in collecting or encouraging the collection of native literature. They developed theories based on genealogies and traditions. To both, the evidence of Polynesian traditions and linguistics demonstrated that the Polynesians had arrived in their present Pacific home after a succession of migrations. They had once lived, Smith and Fornander declare, on the southern Asiatic mainland where they had been the recipients of the civilizations of the area and still showed in their language, myths, and customs many traces of these civilizations.

According to Fornander, the "Aryans and Cushites" of the Persian Gulf region were the ancestors of the Polynesians. From this region, he writes, the Polynesians migrated through northwestern India into the islands along the Asiatic coast, whence the Malays drove them farther out into the Pacific about the beginning of the Christian Era. For lack of any better, Fornander's chronology of Polynesian movements into the Pacific still finds many followers. He states that at the close of the first and during the second century A. D., the Polynesians began to move from the Asiatic littoral into the Pacific, establishing themselves on the Fiji Islands and then migrating onward into the Samoan and Tongan Islands as well as to the east and north. During the fifth century, some settled on the Hawaiian Islands, where they remained relatively isolated until about the eleventh century, when emigrants began to come into the Hawaiian area from the Marquesas, the Society Islands, and Samoa. This migratory period, according to Fornander's chronology, continued for a half dozen generations. Then the Hawaiian Islands were again quite isolated from contacts with other archipelagoes until Captain Cook's arrival in 1778.

Of the heroic Maui, Fornander writes (103, pp. 45-46) that the universality of the legends and the fact that each group has tried to localize the god and his exploits proves that they were among the myths which the Polynesians brought with them to the Pacific. He believes that the origin and the name of Maui must be sought in the ancient habitat of the Polynesians in the west. He writes (vol. 1, p. 46):

What Cushite or Hindu legend may have formed the basis of the Polynesian I am unable to say; but I find that one of the twelve gods of the second order in Egypt was called Moui, apparently the same as Gom and Hercules, the splendour and light of the sun, and therefore called a "son of Re."

A recent and convenient guide to the sources of the principal adventures of Maui in the Hawaiian Islands, together with abstracts of the major versions, was published in a chapter called "Maui the trickster" by Beckwith in her concordance, "Hawaiian mythology" (21).

Quoted elsewhere is that part of the Kumulipo, the creation chant, which deals with the career of the Hawaiian Maui (Liliuokalani, 167). Only in the Kumulipo is there any indication of the adventures having been united into a cycle in the Hawaiian Islands. In addition to the themes included in the creation chant, the Hawaiians narrate an account of Maui's rescue of Hina from the monster eel, Tuna; his theft of fire; and a story of his transformation of a man into a dog. It is not certain that the Hawaiians credited Maui with pushing up the sky. Besides the myths which have an extensive distribution throughout the Pacific, the Hawaiians have many tales about the hero which are not told outside their archipelago.

#### NEW ZEALAND

More variants and data about the role of Maui in the culture have come from New Zealand than from any other region. Many of the early travelers and settlers referred to Maui and his exploits in their books, but seldom did one of them record a myth in detail as an informant had told it.

As Schirren observed, the collection of Polynesian traditions left much to be desired until 1855 when Grey published his "Polynesian mythology," a milestone in the collection of traditions. Though he did not describe the cultural background of which the myths were a part, he did give, in most instances, the entire myths rather than vague summaries.

His secretary and interpreter, John White, procured material for a six volume anthology of Maori traditions, an entire volume of which was devoted to texts and translations of the Maui myths. Some of White's material was garnered from earlier books. Some came from the notebooks he sent to Maori tribes asking their members to write down traditions. According to Gudgeon (139, vol. 5, pp. 1-12), this method did not produce the best ma-

terial. Old and learned members of a tribe could not write or did so only with difficulty. Younger members who could write had no real knowledge of the ancient lore, or lacked the ability to overcome the distrust of the old men and get them to dictate their information.

In later years, native scholars contributed manuscripts in the Maori language which were published in text and English translations by the Polynesian Society. Among the native sages who furnished myths about Maui were Potae, Ruatapu, and Poata. Recently, Herries Beattie has published the lore which Tikao, a resident of South Island, dictated to him. Tikao's information represents his cosmopolitan efforts to get data throughout New Zealand on the traditions of his ancestors.

The roll call of those who have recorded myths or bits of information about Maui in New Zealand is extremely long. Wohlers was active in South Island at the time Grey was working principally in the north. Before them, Brodie, Shortland, Yates, Polack, Dieffenbach, and many others had made Maui a familiar figure to readers of travel books on New Zealand. Their accounts of Maui, however, are often sketchy and unreliable. Later, Cowan, Tregear, Gudgeon, and Smith were leaders among those collecting and contributing data on Maori traditions and collating data from other islands with those from New Zealand. Many of these later collections were published either in the Journals and Memoirs of the Polynesian Society or in the Transactions of the New Zealand Institute.

The greatest of collectors, however, both as to quality and volume of material, was Elsdon Best. His records on Maui typify his method of procuring not only a myth but relevant information about the functions of the myth, the narrator, and the opinions of other native New Zealanders on the subject investigated. His numerous and encyclopedic volumes reflect a stupendous amount of first-hand knowledge about the Maori. The labor involved in the mechanics of writing the volumes is impressive. Best, like his colleagues in Maori research, carried on his study of Polynesian ethnography as a hobby sandwiched into hours left from professional occupations.

Best threw into the arena of theory a few time-worn coins. These contributions have a hollow, false ring and seem to represent conventional gestures to current intellectual fashions. However, they in no way confuse or distort his fine collections. He remarks, for example, as did so many of his colleagues, on the similarity between the Egyptian god Moui and the Polynesian Maui and that the myths about Maui represented allegorical explanations of battles between the forces of light and darkness.

S. Percy Smith was a pan-Polynesian scholar like Abraham Fornander of Hawaii with whose theories he had much in common. In the realm of Maori tradition, his name is connected with the editing and translating of

the "Lore of the Wharewananga," which came into being as follows: At a great political rally of the Maoris in the mid-nineteenth century in North Island, instruction was given to the assembled tribesmen by three priests whose teachings were recorded by two native scribes. One of them, H. T. Whatahoro, amplified his records later with the aid of learned men.

Smith's best known volume, "Hawaiki," is a comparison of the Rarotongan genealogies and traditions with those from the rest of Polynesia. His purpose is to reconstruct the history of the Polynesian people. Like Fornander, his evidence is drawn from legends and linguistics. However, because of the newly acquired collections of Rarotongan genealogies, he emphasizes more than the earlier colleague the evidence based on genealogies. To compute the time involved in the migrations, Smith uses 25 years as the length of a generation instead of the 30 years used by Fornander.

Smith declares that the Rarotongan logbooks dated back to 450 B.C. when the Polynesians lived in India. He believes that the Polynesians were driven by wars from India into the Pacific, living first in Indonesia somewhere, perhaps in Java. Of Maui's place in Polynesian history, he writes that Maui goes back as far as this Indonesian period and that Tangaroa whom the Rarotongans regard as Maui's father was really a man and not a god, although the attributes of the god came to be assigned to the man. Maui's father, he continues, was probably one of the adventurers and voyagers of the Indonesian sojourn. As will be recalled from the Rarotongan Maui cycle, Tangaroa married Ina, the daughter of Vai-takere, whom Smith thinks may be the same person whose name appears in the logbook at a period which he fixes as the first century after Christ. To Smith, Maui, or one of the Maui's, was really one of the early adventurers in the Pacific, a man who eventually became clothed with the miraculous deeds of a god. He agrees with Fornander's hypothesis that the Maui cycle is older than the Polynesian migration into the Pacific and belongs to the pre-Pacific history of the Polynesians.

#### CHATHAMS

Alexander Shand, the only recorder of Maui legends from the Chatham Islands, obtained his information about the hero primarily from an old chief and priest, Minarapa Tamahiwaki, in the middle 1860's. Shand's ethnography of the Chathams was published first as a series of articles in the Journals of the Polynesian Society and later, in 1911, as a Memoir. Shand reports Maui myths based on the widely known motifs of getting fire for mankind, snaring the sun, and of Maui changing heads with his beautiful wife, Rohe.

## TONGAN AND FIJIAN ARCHIPELAGOES

Data of early writers about Maui in the Tongan Islands are few and repetitious. Intra-archipelago provenience is rarely given. Mariner's (190) and Veeson's (296) remarks about Maui as an earthquake god, and Mariner's myths about Tangaroa fishing up land and causing death to be everlasting for mankind have been quoted by innumerable later writers including West (300), Erskine (96), and Dieffenbach (82, vol. 2, p. 89).

Sarah Farmer (98), whose information was largely from the Methodist missionary John Thomas, contributes both myths about Maui and some light on his place in Tongan culture. Lawry (163) and Young (312) have brief notes about the hero. Notes by other writers of this period are even more negligible.

Only one version of the Maui myths incorporated into a long cycle has been recorded. However, it has been published several times. Minor differences, apparently originating through errors of copying or translating, have led scholars to compare the publications as if they were distinct versions.

Gifford, for example (118, p. 14), compares the version Collocott published with that of Reiter. He notes the differences between the two in the sequence and pairing of names in the genealogy. Actually Collocott's and Reiter's versions are ultimately from the same source. The history of this version is presented here as illustrative of that of some other mythological variants from Polynesia.

In 1919 and 1921 Collocott published a free English translation of the cycle which contains the differences from Reiter's translation observed by Gifford. Later, in 1924, Collocott published a corrected and more literal translation which reveals that his and Reiter's versions of the cycle are identical. He states (63, pp. 275, 378) that the Tongan texts he translated were written at the instigation of the late Reverend Dr. J. E. Moulton by the late Reverend David Tonga and published in Moulton's Tubou College Magazine. Tonga's version of the earth-fishing myth also appeared in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Martin, 191).

Reiter published the same Tongan text with a French translation in *Anthropos*, stating that it, or at least that part dealing with the origin of the world and Maui's career, was obtained about the mid-nineteenth century from the lips of an old chief by one of the first Catholic missionaries in Tonga (224, vol. 2, p. 230).

The third to publish this same version of the Maui cycle was Caillot (50), who published the texts and a French translation in a copyrighted book. His informant and the source of his information are not stated.

No one gives the provenience or original narrator of this much-quoted cycle.

Gifford also obtained a version of the cycle, the manuscript of which is now in Bishop Museum, through the Reverend Jonathan Fonua of Neiafu, Vavau. This account has been published in *Koe Makasini a Koliji*, the college magazine, and translated by William Finau of Neiafu.

The role of the printing press in preserving a particular version of a cycle is well-illustrated by this Tongan cycle. What the ultimate source of these texts of the same version of the cycle may be is not ascertainable. The history of the cycle, its publication, and the existence of copies made by Tongans interested in their vanishing mythology, recall the involved history of the Laval manuscript on Mangarevan culture. Grey's Maori collections also come to mind. One wonders how many of the versions so like Grey's Maui cycle were obtained in good faith from Maoris in different tribes who learned their mythology from studying Grey's books or from hearing myths retold from his collection. Frequently, an inquiry by the collector would have revealed this situation and led to collecting the fragments of what the narrator remembered of his own tribal versions. These fragments may not be as attractive to either the collector or the storyteller as the finished perfection achieved by memorizing the printed version, but they would have more scientific value. The fault, if there be any, lies, of course, with the collector and not with the narrator, who is using the most available means left him of getting coherently the disappearing mythology of his homeland.

Besides the Tongan cycle discussed and the previously mentioned notes, data on the Tongan Maui come from Gifford's collection (118). He has some disconnected Maui myths and information about the hero. Collocott has also published new data about Maui and several poems and chants mentioning the hero (65).

Gifford has discussed (118, pp. 11-13) Tongan similarities to Lorimer Fison's collection of Fijian mythology (100). Fison's long myth about the Maui family is retold from an account by Maafu, an eastern Fijian chief whose original home was Tonga. The complex myth or abbreviated cycle includes the themes of fishing up land and the origin of death.

#### SAMOAN ARCHIPELAGO

The published source material on the Samoan Maui is as repetitious as the Tongan. The original recorder of an oft-repeated version is as difficult to determine as its specific island home. The apparent richness of Samoan data on Maui fades on examination.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the Reverend Thomas Powell obtained myths about Maui from the talking chiefs of Tau Island in the Manuan group of Samoa. Among the chiefs were Tauga-nuu, "official legend keeper of Manua," Fofu, Onofia, and others. The Victoria Institute published Powell's

free, poetic translations of the text (213). Later the Royal Society of New South Wales published literal translations of the same text (214). These translations were the work of the Reverend George Pratt, Fraser, his amanuensis, supplying supplementary, explanatory notes. Later these texts and translations were published by the Polynesian Society (Fraser, 112). A *solo* about Maui getting fire from the underworld, which forms part of Powell's collection, was quoted in an earlier section of this study. The native text of this *solo* with a German translation appears in Krämer's "Die Samoa Inseln" (156).

Stuebel, one of the most important sources on Samoan mythology, was German consul in Samoa during the last part of the nineteenth century. He published several Maui myths, for which he frequently specifies the locality from which the story came (268). One of his Maui myths is similar to one of Powell's.

Turner (292, 293) and Stair (260, 261) who also collected and published Samoan mythology were members of the London Missionary Society. Stair's collection includes myths about Maui obtaining fire and snaring the winds. They were first published by the Polynesian Society in 1896 and in the following year in book form (260, 261). Maui myths similar to those of Turner and Stair have appeared in volumes of reminiscences by Cooper (68) and Pritchard (217). The provenience of these myths is merely "Samoa." The action in most of the Samoan myths about Maui takes place around the town of Apia. This localization suggests that they were probably obtained in and around that city, which was the headquarters of the Europeans. The localization of a myth is not, however, to be depended upon for establishing provenience without supplementary evidence.

Brief notes about Maui or members of his family appear in the various chronicles and travelogues of Williams, Lesson, Walpole, Von Bulow, and Ella.

#### FUTUNA

Edwin G. Burrows, in a Bishop Museum Bulletin which is a resume of source material on Futuna and his anthropological research there in 1932, has summarized and discussed the few Maui references (45). A letter (53) of the martyred Father Chanel of the Société de Marie, who arrived in Futuna in 1837, mentions Mafuise Foulon (Mahuika), the earthquake god. Bourdin (34), author of the first Chanel biography, has this reference and other Maui data, including an earth-fishing myth. The original recorder, whether Chanel or another, is unknown.

Identical material on Maui based on Bourdin appears in the Chanel biographies by Father Nicolet (204) and Florence Gilmore (127). Smith (240) quotes the same data from either Nicolet (204) or Mangaret (188)

Mangaret's Maui notes, which I have not seen, evidently are the same as those of Bourdin and his followers. Father Grézel's Futunan dictionary (134) has minor references to Maui and Mahuika, probably also derived from Bourdin.

Differences in spelling names of characters associated with Maui in the notes mentioned above are such as would arise in copying a manuscript or in printing. The Futunan references to Maui illustrate how a number of slightly varying myths and statements, if not checked and shown to be derived from one source, could leave the impression that Futuna had much remarkably stable lore of Maui. Actually, we do not know whether this was so in the past. The content of this repetitious material from Futuna is discussed in my section on Maui and the genealogies of chiefs in western Polynesia.

#### UVEA (WALLIS)

Almost nothing has been recorded from Uvea (Wallis) on Maui. The single myth about him, that of sky-raising, was recorded by Burrows, whose Bishop Museum Bulletin (46) presents the results of his field work in 1932 coordinated with records of early missionaries and voyagers. Burrows procured an earth-fishing myth with Tangaroa as a hero. He also translated a variant of the same myth collected by Father Henquel, an early missionary, who recorded it in a manuscript as yet unpublished. Henquel's version introduces Maui as a visitor who came to Uvea only after Tangaroa had fished up land.

#### NIUE

Maui myths in text and translation were procured by Edwin M. Loeb while a Bishop Museum Fellow in Niue in 1923-1924. He writes (169, pp. 33-34) :

It is certain that no white man ever had a chance to observe the original native culture of the Niueans, for the Rev. W. G. Lawes, the first white man to reside on the island (in 1861), found six churches and only eight non-Christians left. It is well known that native missionaries are far more thorough-going in the destruction of an alien pagan culture than are their white colleagues, and it is therefore very much to be doubted whether either the Lawes brothers or Mr. Robert Head, Sr., the first trader on the island, could have observed very much concerning the original culture of the natives. Yet the greater part of the information which has been published concerning Niue has come, originally, from the lips of either Rev. F. E. Lawes or R. Head, Sr., rather than from the family traditions of the natives themselves."

The native missionaries mentioned were principally zealous native converts from Samoa landed on Niue by English missionaries to spread the Christian gospel. As early as 1830, John Williams, an early missionary of the London Society, kidnaped two Niueans. He took them to Samoa and later to Raiatea to teach them before returning them to Niue to spread the Gospel. One later

returned to Samoa with two companions, one of whom became the servant of Dr. George Turner, who educated him. He returned to Niue later as a missionary. Native Samoan teachers followed him.

James Cowan published two Maui myths from a manuscript, dated 1901, by John Lupo, a Samoan missionary who settled in Niue in the 1860's. These versions appear in two places, the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (73) and a book, "The Maoris of New Zealand" (71). Smith and Basil Thomson, early representatives of the British government in Niue, also have an occasional Maui story. Thomson's versions appeared twice, in his book about Savage Island (281), and in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (280).

Niueans tell how Maui raised the sky, fished up land, and stole fire for mankind.

#### TOKELAU ISLANDS

Tokelau myths about Maui have been published by William Burrows, Smith, Turner, and Lister. Macgregor, who visited the islands in 1932 but did not obtain any Maui lore, discusses the variants of earlier collectors in his *Bishop Museum Bulletin* (185).

Smith (255) obtained his information from a Rarotongan missionary who visited the Tokelaus in 1858. Turner, according to Lister, got his notes from a Tokelau boy attending school in Samoa. Lister (168) visited Fakaofu in 1889, when he obtained traditions from the wife of a trader and two elderly native women. W. Burrows (47), who visited the same island in 1921, procured a number of myths from an old man of "unimpaired faculties," "wonderful memory," and "keen sense of humor," who had been "not quite a young man" when the missionaries arrived in 1861 and when the slavers raided the island.

Gordon Macgregor's summary of Tokelau source material on Maui (185, pp. 16-24) reveals a complex situation. Three Maui brothers fish up land; and an unidentified Maui and his spouse Talanga, have the first man, Kava, whose descendant is Singano. A variant transposes the generations so that Maui and Talanga are descendants of Kava and Singano. In one myth, Talanga is named as a man who stole fire. In another Talanga is the wife of a man named Ikiiki (Tikitiki) and bears a son named Lu (dialectically Ru in some islands) who raises the sky, steals fire, and fishes up land. In a variant, Tikitiki fishes up land. In one genealogy of the legendary period Tikitiki and Talanga are husband and wife and predecessors of Kava and Singano.

Macgregor states that the people of Tokelau probably never appreciated that Maui and Tikitiki were identical. The myths, as he suggests, were

probably derived from different sources. No narrator has made any effort to eliminate differences and inconsistencies among the myths about Maui, Tikitiki, Talanga, and Lu.

### ROTUMA

Besides the Maui cycle recorded by Russell (229) and discussed earlier, Churchward published a variant which appeared first in the journal, *Oceania* (56), and later in "Tales of a lonely island" (57). Bishop Museum has a manuscript of a version discussed earlier, obtained by Macgregor during his visit to Rotuma.

### MELANESIA AND MICRONESIA

Information about Maui in the New Hebrides comes from the diaries and travel books of the early missionaries, Paton (207, 208), Murray (201), Gunn (140), Gray (129, 130), Ray (223), Lawrie (162), William Gill (120), W. W. Gill (121), and Macdonald (180, 182, 183). Brenchley (35) mentions Maui on Efate Island. In recent years Speiser (257) and Humphreys (149) have collated the ethnographical data on these islands with the results of their own field work. While they add no new Maui variants, they have conveniently assembled versions from many obscure and inaccessible publications.

In the islands to the north, Sarfert and Damm (230), two members of the German expedition of 1908-1910 which procured Maui myths in Micronesia, have recorded data about Maui from Ontong Java. Rivers (226) refers to Maui in Tikopia Island, and Fox and Drew (108) found him in San Cristoval (or Ulawa). Florence Coombe (67) published Maui's adventures as told in Santa Cruz.

The Reverend Macdonald, who collected myths about Maui in Efate Island in the New Hebrides, had a theory about the hero's origin which reflects the exaggerated influence of the solar, Aryan, and etymological theories of thought current in his period. He writes (183):

If the mother tongue of the languages was one originally spoken in Arabia or neighborhood, and a sister to the Arabic, Babylonian, Aramaic, and Phoenician . . . it is naturally to be expected that the mother mythology from which these myths have descended, belonged to the same part of the world and was a sister mythology to the Arabian, Phoenician, Babylonian, and Aramean, intimately connected, or having much in common with them, as they with each other, while having each of them, something peculiar to itself . . . the fact that the names of the same mythic deities occur in them shows that they belong to the same primeval stock; and the fact that these names are words of the ancient Oceanic mother-tongue, and in some instances names of ancient Phoenician, Babylonian, Arabian, and Aramaic mythic deities is of fundamental importance in any investigation as to the nature and origin of the Island mythology.

He suggests several exotic origins of the name Maui. For example, he says that the Arabic word for Maui is *maha*, the sun, or crystal. Another meaning he gives is "brilliant" (like the sun), another "to fetter or to put on long reins"; "and thus it came to be attributed to the sun-god Maui, that he put long reins—the sun rays are long indeed—upon the sun, so that it should not go too quick." Taranga is identified with Ishtar as follows:

Istar was the Phoenician Astarte, or Astarat. The name Athtar was pronounced by the Arameans Atar or Tar, and Atarāta, or Tarāta, i. e., Istar of Ata (perhaps Istar of Luck or Fortune) was widely worshipped. I believe that the Island Atarānga for Atarāna, and Tarānga for Tarāna (Hawaiian Akalāna, i. e. Atalāna, Samoan Talānga), a name whose meaning is now entirely unknown to the natives, is the same, the sole change being the common one of the final *t* to *n*...

Taranga's visit to the underworld is regarded as perhaps "an unconscious reminiscence of the ancient myth in Babylonia of 'the descent of Ishtar.'"



## SUMMARY

Of all the mythological heroes of the south Pacific islands, Maui is the most widely known. He is clearly present in almost every Polynesian island and in Melanesian and Micronesian islands the inhabitants of which are somehow related to Polynesians or have come into contact with neighbors who are. Though he has been blended into Melanesian and Micronesian mythology, Maui is peculiarly a hero of Polynesia, whence most versions of his myths come.

The extensive distribution of Maui's name, the number and variety of myths about him, and the integration of his adventures into the life of the people indicate that he is a very old part of Oceanic culture, or at least of that of Polynesia, and a very popular mythological character, who has not only survived changes in native life due to European contact but has been brought up to date to incorporate or promote ideas introduced by western Europeans.

Maui and his exploits are recalled in many phases of daily island life. Stories about him entertain children and adults either on informal occasions or at feasts. Because his adventures usually are not esoteric or sacred and can be told at any time without tapu, even untrained storytellers narrate them. Those raconteurs, however, who, in Polynesia, undergo training in literature and other native learning usually memorize standardized versions of the myths which they may eventually modify for particular purposes. Dramatists use themes from Maui myths for their plays; orators and poets draw on them for examples and quotations; and gamblers illustrate the adventures by cat's cradles or play other games in which Maui excelled.

Though evidence is lacking that Maui was originally a chief whose followers deified him, many islanders regard him as their ancestor or that of their chiefs because he fished up their land. His other adventures, like that of raising the sky, may also be revised to reveal him as the founder of an important family line. Any of his adventures may be utilized in connection with agriculture, fishing, bird-catching, and other vital economic activities. His name is often associated with bringing new food plants to the earth and stealing fire from an old god who hoards it.

Rarely is Maui rated as a primal god. More often he is described as a demi-god who lived in the era following the creation or evolution of the world which he modified to raise the low-hanging sky to its present heights, slow up the speeding sun, fish up islands under the sea, and get fire for mankind to cook food. Information that Maui was worshiped is rare and often of doubtful reliability. Chants that Maui used to ensure success in his exploits are relied upon in some islands to enable human beings to be equally successful. Many

configurations in the landscape and characteristics of plants and animals are credited to Maui's activity.

The secret of Maui's popularity lies in the universal appeal of his adventures and personality. Although reinterpreted in several islands, the personality which seemingly is the oldest because of its frequency of occurrence is that of a mischievous and disobedient youth who is a source of conflicting pride and anger to his parents and less able brothers because of the magnificent scope of his adventures and his courageous and cunning defiance of parents, older relatives, and gods. The personality of the hero is, however, as objectively detachable as any other element in the myths. It is not essential that the earth-fisher, the sun-snarer, the sky-raiser, and the fire-stealer be a precocious boy with the personality just described. Author-raconteurs realizing this have on occasion reinterpreted the myths to give Maui a different personality. Some, loath, as in Rotuma and Tonga, to give up the engaging trickster personality, work it into the revised cycle with varying degrees of success.

Polynesia is an area with an elaborate pantheon with hierarchical qualities. Its intense consciousness of status and protocol is mirrored in the society that has created it and projected it into the past. In such a setting, Maui represents an asocial individual who arouses admiration, fear, and derision by his nonchalant and cunning cutting of red tape to improve the world and satisfy the demands of his own ego warped by his unnatural birth and upbringing. The function of altering the world is older, more basic, and more widespread than the interpretation, superimposed by Polynesians, that an important motive in Maui's exaggerated activities was to defy the established order and win recognition for himself. That such behavior is improper, the narrators express through having Maui narrowly escape with his life in some deeds and eventually succumb when he outreaches himself. He defies not only the gods but his family. Consequently both children and adults find a vicarious satisfaction in hearing how now his father has the upper hand and how now Maui is ahead in the contests between father and son. From a psychological point of view, there are few hero cycles of the world that illustrate as well as does the Arawa version of Maui's career basic human conflicts and relationships involving family and society.

A survey of the major variants of the mythological complex centering about Maui shows that a monistic theory of any kind is inadequate for understanding the nature of the hero's character and his exploits. Earlier writers who saw in him the sun exclusively, and in the stories of his adventures the daily course of the sun, necessarily overlooked the multitudinous differences between the numerous myth variants to adapt a solar theory to the Maui cycle. I have analyzed in this study the most completely recorded

variants of the Maui cycle to show the diversity of form assumed in each island by Maui's exploits and character and to indicate some of the factors creating the differences between variants.

No two islands have an identical list of episodes or incidents, nor an identical interpretation of the hero's character. Even the same island may have conflicting variants which arise if both major social divisions, the priests or chiefs and the commoners, interest themselves in the hero. Another factor working for the production of different versions from the same island is the individual interpretation made by each tribe or each narrator.

Despite the variety of adventures ascribed to the hero and the differences from one island to another, there is no difficulty in recognizing Maui wherever he appears. There is sufficient continuity and overlapping of personalities and events to establish the existence of an identifiable hero who, more often than any other character, performs deeds like snaring the sun, fishing up land, and stealing fire.

New Zealand has an especially rich collection of material about Maui in variants of the cycles and independent myths and information from members of both priestly and common classes as to their opinion and beliefs about the mythological hero. Lengthy variants have been recorded from important tribes of North and South Islands. An analysis of the Arawa cycle, well known to mythologists because of Grey's excellent translation, reveals an especially sophisticated and notable literary structure due to the elaboration of emotional states of the characters and the close integration of plot elements to achieve a tragic denouement. In character, Maui is a mischievous young hero who transformed many aspects of the world through fishing up land, snaring the sun, stealing fire, trying to overcome death, and many other adventures. The emphasis in the cycle is only incidentally upon the benefits of Maui's deeds to mankind.

Although Anaa and Fangatau narrators have some of the same themes in their Maui cycles as in New Zealand, the particular form of their elaboration and combination is decidedly different. The total complex has been reinterpreted as a sophisticated comedy-romance, in which erotic incidents and details predominate. Localization in time and place is vague. Repetition of motifs and incidents with slight variation is marked. An important literary device is the use of long, complex chants, either at the conclusion of an adventure or in the body of the story, in which Maui's success and his competitor's defeat are extravagantly described with many hyperboles and symbolic references. The contributions made by Maui to the improvement of the world are not emphasized. In the story of stealing fire the hero is more concerned with taking revenge for an insult by the fire god than with getting fire for the world.

In the Society Islands, some of Maui's familiar adventures have been incorporated into the religious cosmogony of the cult of Taaroa. The Maui motifs have been added at that point in the story of world creation at which a hero is needed to complete the work in the sky so that the culture of the earth can develop and Maui's oldest brother, a great priest, can establish temples and priesthoods. Maui motifs and character have been creatively changed by priestly narrators to fit into the religious cosmogony. Trickster elements are entirely missing except for the characteristic boastfulness of Maui. He is a solemn benefactor who conscientiously and carefully aids the great gods of the heavens in the work of sky arrangement. He delays the sun to give his mother time to cook food and his brother time to build temples.

The causes of this unusual local reinterpretation of Maui's character and deeds lie in the former greatness of the Society Islands, especially Raiatea, as a center of religion. Whereas in New Zealand, the Maui tales were usually regarded as non-sacred and only of slightly higher rank than popular tales, the Society Islands priests saw in them material for the religious cosmogony and history of colonization.

In Rarotonga, an unusual local re-adaptation occurs, which has features in common with the Maui cycle of the Society Islands. Both have a complex structure in that the Maui cycle has been incorporated into another mythological complex. Other common features include the emphasis on motifs relating to the sky and the conception of Maui as a serious benefactor and not as a trickster-transformer. The particular development in each region is different, however. Rarotongans have incorporated Maui's career into a cycle of adventures about Tangaroa who stole Maui as a child to rear him to carry on a feud. Maui's upbringing and early adventures are preliminary to his great deed of avenging the insult to Tangaroa which began the feud. Interspersed in the intervals before and after this deed are the familiar motifs often associated with Maui, such as earth-fishing, sky-raising, and the obtaining of fire.

An important factor affecting the form of the episodes and the character of Maui in western Polynesia is the influence of Melanesian literary style. The characteristic Melanesian interest in many stupid cannibals; in gigantic, cannibalistic monsters; and in two heroes, one good and the other bad, appears as one goes westward. The long Tongan Maui cycle is made up of several sections poorly integrated as to chronology and Maui's character. The first section narrates the cosmogony of the islands with Maui fishing up the islands after Tangaloa has thrown down some islands from the sky. The second section describes him as a trickster who sneaks after his father to the underworld, where he steals fire and gives mankind cooked food for the first time.

The third section tells of his and his father's adventures in slaying cannibalistic monsters that ravage the land and ends with the birth of a wonder child, fathered by the Maui, who is the first in an important Tongan aristocratic line. Father and son, as monster-slayers, are interpreted as noble, courageous, and unselfish, although in the preceding section they are quick-tempered, cunning, and distrustful of each other.

Rotuman Maui cycles show the influences also of both Polynesian and Melanesian literary styles. The first half of the Rotuman cycle describes Maui as a happy and tricky boy, born as an abortion and reared by supernatural beings until he returns to his parents. He follows his father to the underworld, where he is put through tests including the obtaining of fire. In the second half of the cycle, Rotuman raconteurs have adapted the cycle to another literary style. A malicious marplot is introduced to foil constantly the attempts of the Maui in one adventure or another. Maui and his brothers are noble, long suffering, easily deceived, and courageous in contrast to the marplot. Rotumans, like many other islanders, have also incorporated Maui into their legendary history as an ancestor.

New Hebrideans regard Maui as an ancient god, a benevolent and brave slayer of cannibals, and an elderly grandfather who is selfish and no match for his tricky young grandson, Tamakaia, who plays the role usually assigned to Maui himself. Conflicts between the selfish ancient deity, Maui, and the clever, young hero take the form of contests which Maui always loses.

A survey of the variants of the Maui myths enables one to understand why Achelis called Maui one of the most interesting and many-sided heroes of any pantheon, and why Westervelt regarded the Maui myths as links in a chain binding the islands of the Pacific into one nation. Though a native of Polynesia where he is best known, he has been adopted by many Melanesians and Micronesians, who have made him a place among their wonder heroes and great men of the past. Everywhere he is a heroic character possessed of a supernormal amount of mana, magical power, and skill in applying it to bring about success in his world-altering activities.



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